

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Saturday, the 8th March 1947.

SPECIAL SITTING.

The House met in the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, at 9-30 a.m., Mr. President (THE HON. SRI R. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAJU) in the Chair.

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

I.—THE MADRAS MAINTENANCE OF PUBLIC ORDER BILL, 1947
(AS PASSED BY THE ASSEMBLY)—*cont.*

Clause 9.

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ Mr. President, Sir, I move that this clause be deleted from the Bill.

“ In doing so, Sir, I feel that the existing law is expected to deal with a Press that violates the rules and publishes matter likely to affect public safety or the maintenance of public order. I do not know, Sir, what special consideration made the Government insert this clause in this Bill. We have not been informed of any. We have been hearing the Hon. the Premier complaining against the Press that they are not giving him the support he needs in the various measures . . . ”

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ I never complained, Sir, that they are not giving me the support I wanted; I only wanted them to be giving fair comments in respect of facts, and nothing more.”

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ I do not think, Sir, the Hon. the Premier's explanation has in any way detracted from the complaint which I feel he has against the Press. Anyhow, Sir, this clause is unnecessary as the existing law dealing with the Press is sufficient to deal with it; already, Sir, the Government have taken action with regard to certain Presses like the *Desabhimani* and other organs of the Communist party for publishing matter prejudicial to public safety and maintenance of public order. They have the power to demand security, they have the power to demand confiscation of any issue in which any matter affecting public safety and maintenance of public order is published—they have all these powers. I do not know why this clause should have been introduced in this Bill. If they had not the power, then they were perfectly entitled to come up before this House and ask for the inclusion of the concerned provision. As they already possess these powers, they are redundant here, except perhaps that by introducing this clause, the Bill assumes a very respectable size. Except that, no purpose is served by keeping this clause in this Bill.

* SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—“ Mr. President, there is also an amendment under this clause standing in my name. Shall I also move it? ”

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MR. PRESIDENT :—“ One after another.”

SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—“ All right, Sir.”

K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ I second the amendment moved, Sir.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ The question is that clause 9 shall be omitted and the other clauses shall be renumbered.”

The amendment was put and lost.

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ Mr. D. Krishnamurthy is not in his place. His amendment is deemed to have been withdrawn.”

* SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—“ Mr. President, I move that sub-clauses (1) and (2) of clause 9 shall be omitted.

“ I must first of all tell the House what the meaning of clause 9 is and what the powers conferred by that clause are. I do realize, at any rate, most of the Presses do realize, that it is difficult to understand the purport of this clause. What is it that is given to the Government in this clause? It says first of all: ‘require that all matter or any matter relating to a particular subject or class of subjects, shall, before being published in any document or class of documents, be submitted for scrutiny to an authority specified in the order.’ That is, the Government can ask any paper: ‘Do not publish things with regard to certain matters, or do not put any news at all; you must submit that to me first; in other words, you must undergo what is called censorship, and then only you can publish.’ In view of certain specific conditions prevailing now, according to the Government, they want this provision, and therefore, this thing may be admitted. But then the next sub-clause says: ‘prohibit or regulate the making or publishing of any document or class of documents, or of any matter relating to a particular subject or class of subjects, or the use of any press, as defined in the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931.’ Then what is stated in sub-clause (2) is the most important thing. It creates an offence, first of all, in sub-clause (3), which says ‘if any person contravenes any order made under this section, he shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.’ There is an offence there; if therefore a newspaper does not submit what is going to be published to-morrow, on a requisition made by the Government, then it may be prosecuted—the offence is created—and it can be fined and also there is imprisonment for three years or two years or two months, whatever it may be. But that is not the whole thing; there is sense in it if the provision rested there. No doubt there are some matters which newspapers may publish, may take the risk in publishing and take the risk of going to a court of law. But, as I said, it does not stop there. There is another

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sub-clause (2) which says: 'If any person contravenes any order made under sub-clause (1), then, without prejudice to any other proceedings which may be taken against such person, the Provincial Government may declare to be forfeited to His Majesty every copy of any document published or made in contravention of such order and any press, as defined in the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, used in the making of such document.' Therefore, you can prosecute a person who writes contrary to an intimation by the Government, as for an offence; not only that; you can take away, suppress the press as happened in the case of Mr. Govindachari in 1942. Therefore, the actual fact is: you create an offence first of all by saying, you should not publish what I say you should not publish. But that is to be judged by the ordinary civil courts in the country. The order of Government asking the press not to publish will be placed before the courts, it will be subject to comment and other things. But there is the extraordinary power to the effect that the Government can go and say: 'I will suppress the press, I will take away the press.' Sir, these are the two powers taken. They correspond to clause 2 (c) and (d) of the Defence Regulations passed in the year 1939. I ask, Sir, having said so far with regard to the importance of this clause, viz., that the press should not write anything except to the dictation of the Government, and that if it writes, it is liable for prosecution, and also, if it writes it is not only liable for prosecution, but the press itself will be confiscated—that I say is the climax . . . !"

MR. PRESIDENT:—"Does the clause say that the press itself shall be forfeited?"

* SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU:—"Yes, Sir; not only the documents will be taken away; it says: 'The Provincial Government may declare to be forfeited to His Majesty every copy of any document published or made in contravention of such order, and any press as defined in the Indian Press Act.' I do not know, Sir, what it is that the 1939 Act says. There is also the term 'His Majesty' here; it still exists in the Act at least. (Laughter.) 'Every copy of any document published or made in contravention of such order'—that is with regard to the pamphlet issued. But 'any press'—these are artistic words, terms which are used in the legal language. That is done only in specific emergencies; it is the withdrawal of all powers to the State for meeting a state of emergency. We know such powers were used in 1914 and in 1942.

"The only question now is whether it is not the culmination of what I will term the Gandhian system of politics. I do not know the Gandhian system of non-violence but I do know something about the Gandhian system of politics. Here what is contained is that they have got power under this section to imprison a person. Not only that. They can also seize the press and forfeit it. My submission is, is it the non-violent system of politics?

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The whole question resolves itself to this that you have to dance to the music of the Government. Already you have got power to prosecute him. Then, why do you want also to seize the press?"

MR. PRESIDENT:—"May I know from the hon. Member the purpose of his amendment? It is 'omit sub-sections (1) and (2) and retain sub-section (3)'."

* SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU:—"There is a mistake, Sir. At least I wanted that the portion about the confiscation of the press should be omitted. Because, you can ask a person not to publish certain things. If you are not satisfied, you can arrest and detain him for say, four or even ten months. Not only that, Sir, you can even prosecute him and ask him to appear before a court of law which will probably sentence him for some years. So, Sir, this section interferes with the liberty of the press. The whole position is this. What is this Gandhian politics about? Is this really a publication of the theory of Gandhian politics or is it really theory on the ideology of the word 'khaddar'? Is it defined anywhere clearly? I am asking this question plainly. We want to know whether it is like the press under the Parliament or is it a Hitlerite press? We want to know what it is. Is this democracy? In this connexion, if you allow me, Sir, I shall tell you what Vicount Simon said about the liberty of the press. I have already once mentioned about it to this House. Let me repeat it again with regard to this matter. You can villify a man subject to the laws of slander and of defamation; you can put him in jail. Under the ordinary law, he can be taken before a court of law where he can defend himself and if he is found guilty, he will be put in prison. You see what the present position is. In Bhagavathar's case, there was complete blackmail by a certain press. In England, if articles of that type appeared in the press, the person would have gone to jail long ago. But, the press in this country not only say the truth but may also say falsehood. The question really to be found out is whether the press is saying the truth or it makes a villification and if so, punish it subject to the law of slander. Now, the Government is the arbiter. Instead of being an arbiter, you are villifying the whole press and carrying on a vendetta against the press. Mr. Balfour was in prison on account of some political agitations. The press has an enormous influence and if they think that a certain leadership should go, they can make it. So, what I will say to the press is, do not write anything at all about the ministry muddle, because, under this clause the Government can prosecute the person concerned and even the press can be done away with. That is the whole position. You should be ashamed to have a press in this country which will resemble one under Hitler. You should not create such a position in this country. So, do not do it. You must maintain the liberties of the press."

K. ÜPPI SAHIB BAHÄDUR:—"I second it, Sir."

The amendment was put and lost.

Clause 9 was put and carried.

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Clause 10.

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—" I move, Sir, for the deletion of clause 10 because it is redundant."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I have said once before that I would like to hear some voices when I put the amendments to vote. There is a danger of my saying ' Noes have it ', if I do not hear sufficient number of voices on the Government side."

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—" There is already legislation passed in 1946 dealing with the subject covered by the provision. Under Act XIV of 1946, there is already power under Section 4, power for requisition or acquisition of property. I do not know, Sir, why this clause should have been put in here. Except for the fact that it is a copy of the Defence of India Rules, I do not think this provision is necessary at all. There is already power which the Government possesses under which they can requisition property and even acquire property. Here, Sir, the same section is repeated and I do not think that it is necessary to include the words ' maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community ' under clause 4 of Act XIV of 1946. There is no use repeating the complaint—simply some rules have been copied and put forward into this Bill without looking into the fact whether they already possess the powers, and whether these powers are necessary. So, Sir, I move that clause 10 may be omitted as it is redundant."

K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I second it, Sir."

The amendment was put and lost.

* K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Sir, clause 10 provides for the requisition of movable property. Clause 10 (3) provides for the payment of such compensation to the owner as the Provincial Government may determine. The power to determine the compensation that should be paid to the owner of the movable property is vested in the Provincial Government. What I want by my amendment is that compensation be paid must be reasonable. It is a very reasonable amendment, Sir, that I propose and I hope the Government would accept it in the normal course. Therefore, Sir, I move that in line 2 of sub-clause (3) of clause 10, after the word ' such ' the word ' reasonable ' shall be inserted."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I am sure the hon. Member will not object if any unreasonably high compensation is paid by the Government."

* K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I want only reasonable compensation to be paid by the Government, Sir, and I do not want any high compensation to be paid by Government because it should be at the expense of the tax-payers."

K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I second it."

The amendment was put and lost.

Clause 10 was put and carried.

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Clause 11.

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a.m.

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ Sir, I move for the deletion of the whole clause. This is also a very dangerous clause. The clause was perhaps necessary during a period of war when the assistance of the public was required for the maintenance and restoration of law and order but when we are in peace time I do not see why this power is required by the Government to compel people to come to their assistance and do things which they themselves do not approve of. To-morrow an order may be passed by this Government requiring everyone to come and do a particular piece of work as it is required for the maintenance of law and order. It is all right, Sir, in a time of emergency when there is war, when the lives and properties of persons are in danger, when in order to promote the safety of the people, the Government may require people to come to the assistance of the Government so that the properties and lives of the people may be protected; but, no such emergency has arisen or will arise. If this clause is to be applied throughout the Province, not only to those areas which are considered as danger spots, but throughout the Province and if anybody, for any reason, fails to comply with this lawful duty,—unlawful direction I would call it though this unlawful direction is made lawful by passing it through the legislature with a large majority in support of the Government—will be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine or with both. It is very hard to enforce this provision on people though by a Government which is evidently drifting slowly to a totalitarian state.”

SRI M. D. T. KUMARASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ I second it, Sir.”

The amendment was put and lost.

* K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ Sir, as explained by my hon. Friend, Mr. Suryanarayana Rao, section 11 arms an officer of Government with very wide powers. When I read the section, I was reminded of the Jallianwalla Bagh and the crawling laws of Amritsar. Any officer of Government may do anything for the purpose of getting assistance in the maintenance and restoration of law and order and there is nothing to prevent him from requiring any man, whoever he may be, to act in a particular manner. That is why I want that the actions of the officers under this section may be at least required to be reasonable. I therefore move my amendment which is as follows :—

‘ In sub-clause (1) of clause 11 before the word ‘ manner ’ the word ‘ reasonable ’ shall be inserted. ’ ”

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ I second it, Sir.”

The amendment was put and lost.

Clause 11 was put and carried.

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Clause 12.

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ I move, Sir, that sub-clause (4) of clause 12 shall be omitted. I am not a lawyer, Sir, but my reason for this amendment is, already the Provincial Government delegate the power to an officer and again that officer is empowered under this sub-section to delegate his powers to any other officer. Whether such a delegation is lawful, I am doubtful. Delegation of powers can only be to one officer and whether that officer can delegate his powers to another officer, I think from a legal point of view, it is objectionable. According to the sub-section, ‘ an officer empowered under sub-section (1), may, subject to the control of the Provincial Government, authorize any officer subordinate to him to exercise any of the powers referred to in sub-section (1).’ It is delegating a delegated power and I do not think under the law it is permitted as far as I know. Of course, Sir, all these things were necessary when there was a state of war, but I think it is an unnecessary provision here. Even if it is correct to give that power of delegation, I am informed by my lawyer friends that such delegation of a delegated power is wrong in law.”

SRI M. D. T. KUMARASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ I second it, Sir.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ Does the Hon. the Law Minister wish to say anything about it? ”

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—“ He is dumb to-day.”

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ There is nothing to be said about it. I oppose the amendment.”

The amendment was put and lost.

Clause 12 was put and carried.

Clause 13.

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ I move the following amendment that stands in my name, viz.—

‘ After the words “ Any Police Officer ” the words “ not below the rank of a Sub-Inspector of Police ” shall be inserted.’

“ Sir, in the course of the general discussion on this Bill many hon. Members have expressed themselves against giving a tall order to any Police officer to arrest a person who is reasonably suspected of having committed an offence. According to this, even a police constable may arrest anybody he likes and whom he reasonably suspects of having committed an offence. Whether he reasonably suspects or unreasonably suspects is a matter that will have to come up to Government, once he is arrested and detained. I therefore suggest that the words ‘ a responsible police officer not below the rank of a Sub-Inspector of Police ’ shall be inserted in the clause. It is after all a minor amendment which the Government

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themselves could have moved instead of members of this House being required to move it, because it is only taking every possible precaution that these wide and unrestrained powers vested in the executive under this Bill, should be used by officers who are competent and who can judge, at any rate, reasonably judge whether a person whom an officer wants to arrest is reasonably suspected of having committed an offence. It is only by way of abundant caution that I am moving this amendment. I know, Sir, the Government are not prepared to accept it."

SRI M. D. T. KUMARASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" I second it, Sir."

The amendment was put and lost.

Clause 13 was put and carried.

Clause 14.

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—" Sir, my suggestion is, the words 'attempts to contravene, or' may be omitted from the clause, so that the clause may read thus—

'Any person who abets, or attempts to abet, or does any act preparatory to a contravention of, any of the provisions of this Act or of any order made thereunder, shall be deemed to have contravened that provision or, as the case may be, that order.'

"Sir, it has covered all things. How to prove, Sir, who attempts to contravene an order; it is rather a difficult thing to prove. Then again too much of a power is given to any officer. It is a tall order. I am therefore suggesting this amendment, which is but a small one, though as in the case of the other amendments, whether small or big, the Government are not prepared to accept them. I am sure, they will soon realize the mistake they are making."

SRI M. D. T. KUMARASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" I second it, Sir."

The amendment was put and lost.

Clause 14.

* K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" The words 'or does any act preparatory to a contravention of' shall be omitted. Sir, no system of jurisprudence makes preparation for an offence punishable as an offence ordinarily. The reason is obvious. A man may change his mind at any moment. I shall not make any speech because it will have no effect on the Government."

The amendment was put and lost.

The clause 14 was put and carried.

Clause 15 was put and carried.

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Clause 16.

DR. V. K. JOHN moved that—

“ For the existing clause 16, the following shall be substituted :—

- (1) *Any order made in exercise of any power conferred by or under this Act shall be communicated forthwith to the person or persons affected thereby, who may within two months from the date of the communication of such order apply to the High Court to set aside such order and the High Court shall have jurisdiction to consider the propriety and reasonableness of such order and pass such order or orders as it deems fit.*
- (2) *Every such application shall be heard and determined by a special Bench of the High Court composed of three Judges.*

“ Yesterday, Sir, when it was dark I thought merely of reading this amendment and make no speech but today I feel that there is plenty of light in the Ministers and their supporters, Therefore, Sir, I ask your permission to make a speech. For the information of the Prime Minister and his colleagues I might say that the substance of this amendment is taken from the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act. This does not harm the Government in any way at all. They may gag the press, they may confiscate the press, they may detain a person, they may restrain his movements. They may do anything which they want under this Act. After doing all this give the interested party an opportunity to move the High Court within two months questioning the propriety and reasonableness of the action taken by the Government. Sir, if this is not going to be admitted it will be the funeral of all civil liberties in this Province. I hope the Ministers and those that support them would accept it. I am not standing in the way of their detaining any person or arresting anyone or seizing his property or doing anything which they want under this Act, but I say this that a person whose liberty is curtailed or whose property is requisitioned or against whom any order is passed, let him have the freedom to go to the highest Court in the land. Let three Judges of the Madras High Court hear his application. I do not think that any of the Hon'ble Ministers will do anything *mala fide*, but they have no time to look into all questions themselves. Therefore they have provided for delegation and one of the delegated authorities may be a Police constable, may be an Inspector of Police, may be anybody else. They may be doing something wrong. I say, Sir, let the person against whom an order is passed have the opportunity to move the High Court and let the High Court go into the question and why do we distrust the High Court? The High Court will go into the whole question, will understand the position and will give a decision. Sir, if it is found that a person has committed an unsociable act and he is detained for this purpose the High Court will come to a decision against him. There is not the slightest excuse for opposing this amendment except persistence. But persistence may be a virtue up to a certain limit but beyond that limit it becomes a vice. I

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submit that my amendment does not in the least affect the provisions of this Act and does not in the least affect the powers that can be exercised. They can do anything they like but let there be a chance for the person convicted by that order to move the High Court. The Indian Press Emergency Act of 1931 has made this provision. We know from the reports in the papers how many times the High Courts in India have corrected the action of the executive and the executive must be glad over this if they are honest. The learned Judges are happy when they are corrected in appeal because after all man makes mistakes, they must be happy when the mistake is corrected. Therefore, I submit, that this provision ought to have been there not only for the liberty of the subject but for the reputation of the Government. Suppose the Government now pass orders which are never questioned in a court of law and never have the support of the court of law there will be public opinion against Government and their reputation will be at stake. The jurisdiction of a court of law is sought to be taken away by clause 16 of the Bill. In the interests of the Government and the delegated authorities I say let the matter be allowed to be carried to a court of law so that the court may sit in judgment. The amendment I move will be a great corrective. A provision like the one which I have now moved, will be a restraint on delegated authorities and they will not do *mala fide* acts and they will be very careful in exercising the powers conferred in this Act which as I have already said are very very drastic. If we make any suggestion to the Government that it should be worked in a particular way it will not be of any use whatsoever. I must frankly say, we on this side of the House are not attributing any motives to the Government, the Prime Minister or any others. We know that when this Act is put into force, the delegated authority, the small persons to whom authority will be delegated by Government, will misuse the powers and the Government themselves will be powerless and their reputation will be at stake and not so much the reputation of the delegated authority. I am suggesting that there may be some restraint on that delegated authority; they should be happy that the matter will be carried to the highest courts of the land and they will be corrected if they had committed any mistakes. It is not enough if I make suggestions that this should be mercifully and generously put into force. The Hon. Prime Minister himself regretted his having to introduce this Bill and he will certainly give an assurance that he will take every step in his power to see that there is no *mala fide* exercise of power; but I say he is himself powerless. He has provided for it and the powers will be exercised by somebody else. I have moved my amendment in the hope now that there is more light in the Ministers and we are not in darkness and in fact more and more light will be coming to the Government, although they may not be willing to accept the amendment to-day, they will think about and introduce an amendment as early as convenient so that clause 16 is deleted and the clause which I have given notice of will be accepted."

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a.m.

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* SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—“ In supporting the motion, I shall just say a word or two. I do not know if it is the incompetence of the Premier or the antics of the party in power. I was thinking, Sir, they were committed to the policy of the separation of the judiciary from the executive. But now you want to fight shy of the courts. It has been said that the king is the foundation of justice. Evidently now according to this Bill, the Government and its puppets will carry through their own ideas and suppress civil liberty of every kind. I am at a loss to know why you do not like to give this power to High Court Judges. In one breath you are saying that you are going to make the magistracy quite independent of the executive and now you are doing a thing quite inconsistent with that principle in that you are denying access to the court for those affected. I say, Sir, that you must abandon the question of separation of the judiciary from the executive; you must abandon the question of individual liberty and go your own way. Otherwise you must accept that you are really keen on the judiciary having full powers of stepping in between the wronged and the executive and accept the amendment.

“ The amendment that for existing clause 16, the following shall be substituted :—

‘ (1) *Any order made in exercise of any power conferred by or under this Act shall be communicated forthwith to the person or persons affected thereby who may within two months from the date of the communication of such order apply to the High Court to set aside such order and the High Court shall have jurisdiction to consider the propriety and reasonableness of such order and pass such order or orders as it deems fit.*

‘ (2) *Every such application shall be heard and determined by a special bench of the High Court composed of three judges.*’

was put and lost.”

Clause 16 was put and carried.

Clause 17.

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RA0 :—“ Mr. President, I move—

‘ *In sub-clauses (1) and (2) the words “ or intended to be done ” wherever they occur shall be omitted.*’

“ I submit, Sir, this provision that was introduced during the war as part of war-time measures and strange to say the Government wish to have it even now. The second question is how can you find out the intention of the person unless he does an act by which his intention is shown.”

SRI M. D. T. KUMARASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ I second the amendment.”

The amendment was put and lost.

Clause 17 was put and carried.

Clauses 18 and 19 were put and carried.

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Clause 1.

K. Uppi Sahib Bahadur's amendment to sub-clause (2) was by leave withdrawn

Clause 1, sub-clause (4).

* SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—" Mr. President, I move that in lines 4 and 5 of sub-clause (4) of clause 1, for the words 'if in their opinion it is expedient so to do' the words 'after obtaining the consent of the Legislature on a motion duly tabled by the Government for such continuance' shall be substituted. We are on the last provision concerning the abrogation of individual liberty and the surrender of civil liberty that this Parliament is called upon to acquiesce in. This not only for one year but for such period as this Government may deem fit; then it does not come to this Parliament and they do not want it. The Fuhrer, the leader is there and if he says it shall be continued, it shall be continued. You know, Sir, when Hitler threatened the invasion of England, there were three sections of the law which affected the people; but I will ask the Law Member who, I understand, has been responsible for the drafting of the measure, to let me know and direct me to a like provision in the English law empowering the Government to extend the Act from time to time, at their discretion. I have been trying my best to get this regulation but I have not been able to get it. But I am able to find from the speech of the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords that the Emergency Act is an annual Act and subject to the renewal effected by both the Houses at the end of the year. Therefore, they go to Parliament and ask for sanction and that is why I have tabled an amendment that you should do it only after obtaining the sanction of the Legislature on a motion tabled by the Government. This is too much of a surrender that we are asked to set our approval to. I ask if the Government have given their thought to it; have they bestowed any sense on it; is it well-advised; is it wise on your part to say that you will exercise them year after year without coming to this Parliament for approval. The least that I can say is that it is the height of irresponsibility."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—"May I make a fervent appeal to my friends on the other side, although they belong to the Congress Party, not to abdicate their functions."

The amendment was put and lost.

Clause 1 was put and carried.

The Preamble was put and carried and formed part of the Bill.

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" I move that the Bill to provide for the preventive detention, imposition of collective fines, control of meetings and processions, control of essential services and certain other purposes (The Madras Maintenance of Public Order Bill, 1947) (L.A. Bill No. 8 of 1947) as passed by the Assembly be passed into law."

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* K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Mr. President, I oppose the motion. We, on this side of the House, want to impress upon the Government and to make it plain to them and definite that we are not a party to a measure which is going to crush the freedom of the people of this Province. Never for the last 25 years has an act of this kind been passed in any Legislature. When the Public Safety Act of 1929 was introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly, what a hue and cry was raised throughout the length and breadth of this country? Considering the powers the Government required in those days, and comparing that with the powers that this Government is going to take, it is nothing.

" It seems the Government in power wants to practice Hitlerism and Nazism in this Province. That is the position it has come to. I ask the Hon. the Prime Minister whether there is any other enactment like this which a foreign Government has enacted within 150 or 200 years of rule. This is so aggressive, so crushing, and so barbaric. I ask the Hon. the Prime Minister, who was the stalwart champion of the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of association, to say which is the other Act in India. I only offer my condolences to my hon. Friend on this legislation. Where is the necessity for this Act? It is said that it will be used against Communists. But let me say, Sir, I have my own suspicion. My personal view is this Act is for something else. Otherwise such a huge, gigantic amount of powers you would not have taken. Under the present circumstances, you would not have asked for such powers. Sir, we do not want to be a party to such a perverse and barbaric legislation. We are going to definitely make it clear, through this House, that we are not going to be a party to this Bill. We are going to call for a division. We know our fate. From the very beginning, the Hon. the Premier has been saying in this House ' we have to get through this Act; there is no use of proposing any amendments; we cannot carry out your amendments, because it has to reach Delhi before the 14th, and it has to get the sanction of the Viceroy '. Why then, Sir, all this farce of discussion? Why all this waste of public money?

" Sir, it is usual to congratulate the sponsor of a Bill on these occasions, but now, on the other hand, I condole the Hon. the Prime Minister for the tragic irony of Fate. With these words, Sir, I oppose."

* DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" Mr. President, Sir, I am in a very embarrassed situation having to speak on the third reading stage of the Bill, when, as a matter of fact, on the first reading I was the only member that remained neutral. I should like to explain my position and state why I remained neutral, and why it is that I am not now in a position to give them the support of my neutrality in the passing of the third reading stage of the Bill. I remained neutral because I felt that on the facts as stated by the Hon. the Premier, it was no use of opposing this Bill without having something to substitute for it; and it was my hope—a vain hope as it turned out to be—

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that in the course of the discussion, as the amendments were moved by member after member from this side of the House, the Hon. the Premier or any of his colleagues would get up and give a balm to the troubled heart—something to allèviate the pain that most of us felt. It is not because we had not enough confidence in the Ministers, but because we knew that a draconian measure like this, which is all comprehensive, all pervading and conferring powers far beyond the reach of the officialdom of the day, required some little justification even if the amendments were not accepted. But what did I find? Time after time, when hon. Members spoke on amendments—I quite confess that a certain amount of heat was generated for the purpose—when, time after time even the most reasonable amendments were placed before the House, the Hon. the Premier and his colleagues refused even to reply to any of those amendments and kept a stony silence (K. Uppi Sahib Bahadur : 'Shame') which is not in consonance with the spirit of a democratic legislature. I do feel that the manner in which these amendments have been treated by hon. Members opposite is not the manner in which a democratic assembly ought to have been treated under any circumstance.

"I realize, Sir, that this Act has been placed before this House, a House with so little of power, and but for your cheerful personality, we would feel much more a sense of humiliation. (Hear, hear.) We heard none of the Ministers to say 'we do feel that there is some justification for your views; but, my dear friends, we will see to it that, in the execution of the provisions of the Act, we shall give instructions, and we shall take all the powers necessary to see that as far as possible nothing that contravenes the liberty of a citizen who is not a culprit, who is not a traitor, who is not a person who had defied the law, or outraged the law, such a person shall be protected.' It is not only when some clauses of the Bill were opposed—some of which might have embarrassed the Government because of the adjournment of the Assembly—but even in other circumstances, either it was a stony silence or it was a mere 'I oppose'. Hon. Members opposite want us to believe that they are a people's Government. I want to believe that they are a people's Government. But, Sir, let me say that it is not a statement that they are a people's Government that will convince anybody. The compliment must come from others. (Hear, hear.) If they are a people's Government, have we not on this side a stake? Have we not as much conscience as they have? When this Act is passed, it is an Act of the Legislature and not an Act of the party in power. This will go about the international world, and there, somebody, some Smuts of the future, who is none too well disposed to Indian people, will get up and say 'What are you talking of my treatment of Indians in South Africa when in India your own countrymen are being treated in this manner; I think it is a matter of emulation for me to copy it.' Sir, let us realize the far-flung capacities of an Act of this description.

"I now come to a few points. I appeal to the Hon. Ministers not to feel irritated. There are people who take a different view. One of my hon. Friends said the other day that this Act was a draconian Act which conferred continuous powers on the executive

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without the necessity of being referred to the legislature. This is a very wide power, a power beyond the reach of anybody that we can contemplate. A suggestion was made that this Act should be applicable to certain districts. That was thrown out. Even if the Hon. Minister has said that he will give instructions to the Collectors of the districts to see and be on the watch to take necessary steps in the districts with a previous reference to him in particular, I would have felt glad. But nothing of that sort was forthcoming. He was adamant and resisting. I think a suggestion was made that the court of appeal might be composed of persons who had been in the judiciary, a suggestion to which no person could possibly take exception. Was it not possible for the Premier to say, 'he will bear that in mind?' Well, I did not want him to accept it here, because of the confusion that will arise. I am a practical man; I did not want to pin him down to accept any amendment. I know this House is merely marking time, that its function in regard to the discussion of this Bill is well settled by the manner in which the Legislative Assembly has been adjourned and that nothing can be done if an amendment is accepted here; and further the time-limit is there. But was it not open to the Premier to say to the House 'that we shall consider the suggestion?' Would that have taken away the warmth of the support that hon. Members have given—the warmth that was very lukewarm (laughter), when the provisions were moved."

10-30
a.m.

MR. PRESIDENT:—"I requested the Premier to make a statement."

DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR:—"But we were not . . ."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"He did make a statement."

DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR:—"About what?"

MR. PRESIDENT:—"About judges."

DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR:—"But he did not accept the suggestion."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"He said he will bear it in mind."

DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR:—"I am grateful for that, Sir. Then, the definition of 'the police officer' is very vague, and will lead to complications. I am one of those who will give my full support to the police. Whether it is the police or other officers, who will exercise the powers under this enactment, we know, as a matter of fact from past history that the bureaucracy has got its limitations. There are blacksheep here and there and it is very difficult to identify them. Whether the bureaucracy works under an Adviser's regime or under a Ministerial regime there are certain defects which the bureaucracy cannot get over. Our aim is to see wherever possible the temptation is not placed in the hands of small men dressed with authority for the time being to misuse that power. There is a proverb in Telugu, which, with your permission, I will quote: "విసుగుతోలుతెచ్చి ఎన్నాళ్లు ఉరికినా నలుపు నలువేకాని తెలుపుకాదు."

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The meaning of that is, 'you may try to wash an elephant's skin from day to day for months, it will still continue to be black skin that it is.' Even so, the lapse on the part of the bureaucracy can never be abrogated. The Premier has tried to do his best. But he himself has had to own it, that it is a Herculean task. In all this debate, we are not for one moment suggesting that the Ministerial party or the Ministers themselves are not actuated by the best of motives. If anybody suggests that, I shall be the first to say, it is unfair to say they are seized with power and that they think they can control this. I say, if once you let lose the little genii from the little glass bottle you will have no control over it afterwards. That is the great danger to which hon. Members have pointed out. I request the Premier, even at this stage, to tell this House, 'well, this Act is with me, the provisions will be kept more or less a dead letter, unless a grave emergency arises it will not be enforced; a public statement will be issued from time to time stating the grounds on which action has been taken under this enactment and the reasons why this Act has been enforced.' Sir, that is the least that can be done to assuage the feelings of the public. My hon. Friends are a little perturbed over this Act, because we all know what human nature is. Power, they say, corrupts man; great power greatly corrupts. Whatever position we occupy we have always to realize the limitations of human nature. If every single provision of this enactment will receive the personal notice of the Premier and he will hold himself responsible, I for one will unhesitatingly say, 'Yes, go ahead with it.' I have full confidence and have the greatest respect for him. I do not mean it as a compliment or flattery, for his untiring energy and for the real great goodwill that he has for all members here and members on the other side. I know, if it were within his competence, and if ever it came within his competence he would never see that injustice is done. But unfortunately, the Act, as it will be passed, will not be an Act that will be administered by him personally, but it will be administered by the legion of myrmidons of the bureaucracy and others, who cannot and do not get inspiration from the Premier, much less follow him in his footsteps. On these grounds, I regret, I cannot support this Bill."

* SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—" Sir, this tragic drama is now coming to an end and if I make a few observations now, it is only for the purpose of showing to the members on the other side that they are intoxicated with power and that will lead to the tyranny of the people and will lead to a revolution similar to the one in France, or with some limitations to a State which brought brute Hitler to power. To-day we have come to a condition when Gandhi cap is the only passport for freedom and no other ticket will be accepted. Are you going to have an intoxication of power which led to the second world war? And I shall not be astonished if liberty of person and freedom of press became a thing of the past very soon after this Bill is passed into law. I appeal to hon. Members opposite to work democratic institutions fairly and well."

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DR. V. K. JOHN :—“ Sir, I am oppressed with the feeling that this House should be a party to the passing of this legislation, which, in my humble opinion, will be a disgrace for any body of legislators to pass. Sir, in the history of no democratic form of Government has such a legislation ever been passed. The other day, I mentioned in joke, that I am glad Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar is not in the legal profession. I fear, even his persuasive powers will have any effect on the Premier or the party behind him. Under this Bill, the legislature gives draconian powers to the executive and orders passed under it are excluded from the jurisdiction of courts. This Bill empowers not only Government to pass orders, but under this enactment it gives them power to delegate to and allow others to pass orders. I think it is too much to hope that this Bill will be withdrawn at this stage. It is too much to hope that even Sir Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar would be able to persuade the Premier to say that some of the amendments brought forward by us will be accepted. I am sure with the majority they have in this House this Bill will be passed. But I make this suggestion and this request to them, that at every stage, or at every session of this Council and the Assembly, let us have a full picture of the proceedings taken under this Act, and let us be given an opportunity—even though an opportunity is not offered to the accused person under this Bill—to consider and criticise and give suggestions in regard to the steps taken under this enactment.

“ I hope, Sir, that the Hon. the Prime Minister will at least concede this request and that he will take into confidence the Members of the Legislature and keep them informed from time to time how the provisions of this Bill are being carried out by the delegated authorities. If that is done, at least if that is promised it may be possible for us at every stage and at every step to exercise our influence to create public opinion so that the drastic powers may not be exercised in a drastic manner, which people are afraid might be done.”

SRI B. BHIMA RAO :—“ Sir, it is with considerable diffidence that I rise to speak on this occasion. I find there is considerable force in the representations made by the Members on the side of the Opposition. I would only appeal to the Hon. the Premier to give such assurances as were mentioned by the hon. Member Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar. It is no doubt excellent to have a giant's strength but to use it like a giant is tyrannous. The Bill that we are going to pass into law to-day contains drastic draconian provisions and we are going to entrust the administration of these to persons of inferior rank in the administrative machinery. I think, Sir, that if this legislation should now be passed on account of the exigencies of the political situation at present, we have to pass it and the main provisions of the Ordinance have to become law by the 13th instant.

“ Sir, though the conditions prevailing in two or three districts led to this enactment, this is being applied to the whole Province.

[Sri B. Bhima Rao]

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So far as the districts that I represent are concerned, namely, the Rayalaseema, there is not the slightest trouble from these communists. I do not say there is no communist. There are two or three people in name having only ideologies. That being the case, I think the Hon. the Premier might give an assurance to the Members of the Opposition that a drastic revision of this Act will be undertaken. That was what I think was required by the hon. Member Dr. John. The assurance may also be given to the Members of the House that in the case of those districts where this trouble does not prevail the executive authorities, namely, the collectors will be asked to apply the ordinary law and not to use the drastic provisions of this Act. I suggest, Sir, that this delegation should not go beyond the Collector to any inferior authority. Sir, such assurances should be given so that we can lay aside the apprehensions of the man in the street represented by the whole House. I would request the Hon. the Prime Minister to give such assurances and see that a drastic revision of this enactment is taken up in the near future."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"Before I call upon any other Member to speak, I would like to know whether the Hon. the Premier will also reply to the debate . . ."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"Yes, Sir."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"I think he must be given at least 10 minutes for making his reply. Hon. Members must finish their speeches in five minutes."

* K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. President, Sir, I cannot help pointing out . . ."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"The five minutes are for yourself and the other three hon. Members who wish to speak also."

* K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I cannot help pointing out that it is the most inequitable piece of legislation that has ever found a place on the Statute Book of this country and it is most disgraceful that a party which has been claiming all along . . ."

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—"Sir, he used the word 'disgraceful'. Is 'disgraceful' parliamentary?"

* K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"It has been used on more than one occasion, Sir, on this . . ."

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—"Two wrongs do not make a right."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"It all depends upon the context. If the hon. Member makes a reflection that something which this House does is disgraceful it should not have been used. Anyhow I wish you do not use it."

* K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Sir, it is most unfortunate that a party which has been claiming to fight for the freedom and independence of this country and for the civil liberties of the people of this country should come forward

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with this legislation especially when it functions as a popular Government. (An hon. Member: 'Claims to function.') Yes, claims to function as a popular Government. Well, Sir, I would ask whether there will be any single item of civil liberty left beyond the reach of this piece of legislation. It embraces all the activities of individuals as well as associations. A man can be detained without being given an opportunity to prove his innocence before a court of law. He may be arrested by any police officer, his house may be searched, he may be prevented from going on with his usual avocations of life, he may be asked not to get out of his house and he may be asked in the guise of assisting the preservation of order to do any work by any officer. Well, Sir, I ask: Will there be left any vestige of civil liberty in this country? We will be left to the tender mercies of the executive—I do not mean the tender mercies of the Hon. Ministers, because we have got confidence in them—we will be left to the tender mercies of the subordinate officials. Knowing as we do what human nature is . . . (Gong was sounded indicating that the hon. Member should finish his speech.) I will finish in a few minutes, Sir. The vesting of power and authority in subordinate officials is bound, we are sure, to lead to great abuse of the provisions of the bill. (Gong.) I have not finished my point, Sir."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"You are expecting the Hon. the Premier to tell the House something. You must give him some time because we must begin the Budget discussions punctually at 11 o'clock."

* K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I will finish in two or three minutes."

MR. PRESIDENT:—(Addressing another hon. Member) "You must give up. You adjust it among yourselves."

* K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Well, Sir, when the Ordinance was promulgated, Members on the other side raised a hue and cry and they were assured we were told, that the obnoxious provisions would be removed, but now when the Bill comes up before the House, we find that not only no provision of the Ordinance has been abrogated but that the provisions have been made more stringent. But we have been seeing that Member after Member of this House belonging to the Congress Party has been greeting with what I would call derisive laughter, clause after clause when each clause was taking away or abrogating the civil liberties of the people one after another and they were the hon. Friends who opposed the promulgation of the Ordinance in vehement language. I do not know what magic wand has been responsible for this change of attitude on the part of those Members. For these reasons, Sir, I oppose the Bill."

Dr. Syed Tajuddin Sahib rose to speak.

MR. PRESIDENT:—"No. Two members have spoken from your party. Mr. Suryanarayana Rao will now speak."

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SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ Sir, as you are aware it has been our lot on this side—I do not say the Opposition—to fight a losing battle. We entered the battle knowing that we would be defeated at every step. Now that the Bill is to be passed. I appeal through you to the Government to see that these provisions are used properly only in cases where a real occasion arises. Sir, in this connection I would like to quote an incident from the life of Mazzini. It appears Mazzini used to walk along the road in a contemplative mood and the Austrian Criminal Investigation Department followed him and when they were asked why they were following him, they said: ‘ We know nothing against this young man but he goes about mornings and evenings in a contemplative and serious mood. Our Government does not want young men to develop a contemplative mood.’ Sir, that will be sufficient for any police officer to take action under clause 13 of the Bill. In his opinion he suspects any one to have done something or intends to do something. That will be enough. Sir, I am one of those who walk along the road—though I am not a young man—(Laughter) in what might be called a contemplative mood both mornings and evenings. Sir, I shall not be surprised if my steps are dogged by some police officer or by some constable thinking: ‘ What is it, this man goes along the road with a dog as his sole companion. He must be having some purpose.’ Immediately some section under this Act will apply. So, Sir, I beg again the Government to be very careful in using the provisions of this Act now that they have got the power they wanted.

“ Sir, I do not subscribe to what my hon. friend Mr. Ibrahim said about the Members on the other side. They do not welcome this. They only gave a lukewarm welcome, Sir. Party rules demand that they should support the Government and they have done that. In spite of that Mr. Bhima Rao had the courage to express what he felt in this matter though he was all the while voting with the Government. I do not think, Sir, we will be fair to the other side even to say that they indulged in a derisive laughter. It may be a laughter out of despair because they too are helpless (hear, hear) to prevent the Government from proceeding with the measure . . . ”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ I am not sure whether anybody laughed over the amendments. (Hon. Members from the Ministerial Benches: ‘ None of us laughed, Sir.’) Probably I was the cause for creating the laughter.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ I do not think any assurances will take away the sting of every word that is in this Bill. I oppose the Bill.”

SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—“ Mr. President, Sir, my friends opposite very cleverly turned the table against us.”

K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ We wish we had.”

DR. V. K. JOHN :—“ We plead guilty.”

(AS PASSED BY THE ASSEMBLY)

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SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—“ The hon. Member, Mr. Narayanaswami Nayudu has been saying that the position of this Council is tragic and he referred to the tragic drama that is being enacted here. Sir, I felt the very comic irony of the whole thing when friends to whom we had to approach in the good old days to enlist them as Members of the Civil Liberties Union when the civil liberty of our country was being frustrated are speaking in the name of civil liberty every time. At least the members of the Civil Liberties Union might have objected to attacks on civil liberties. But now they have turned the tables upon us and said that civil liberty is trampled down by us. It is a comic irony. There is nothing for derisive laughter. It is not for party discipline that we have voted for the Bill, we have also a sense of responsibility and a sense of duty. We realise the urgency of the matter. We know that we could not under the ordinary circumstances agree to all the provisions of the Bill, but now there are certain urgent conditions and unfortunate though they may be, the Bill has to be passed before the 12th instant, if we are to continue to be free from certain conditions which the Bill wants to avert. Therefore, Sir, a sense of duty and a sense of responsibility have induced us to vote in this matter. It is not merely party discipline or party considerations that have forced us to vote for this Bill.

10-50
a.m.

“ Sir, I certainly feel with the hon. Members of the Opposition that some of these provisions require drastic amendments, if not omission and I hope it will be done. (Hear, hear.) They have been pleading, particularly Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar, that the Hon. Prime Minister should give an assurance that the Act would be administered in a human manner. Now Sir, the Ordinance has been in force for some time, but not even one hon. Member from the Opposition has been able to point out a single case where the Prime Minister has not taken care to see that no injustice is done. I have been observing all through and not even one single case has been cited so far where the persons to whom authority has been delegated and who are administering the Ordinance have gone out of their bounds and done any illegal or unjust thing. (Sri B. Narayanaswami Nayudu: ‘ What about Mr. Narayana Rao? ’) There might have been one case, but that goes to show how careful Government has been and it is a guarantee that in future also such a thing will be done. I do not support, not even the Hon. the Prime Minister will agree that these things are very happy or good, but certain circumstances force them and force us. We have said ‘ no ’ to many things in this House with the tongues in our cheeks. It is against our grain to pass laws like those under which we have suffered and for the removal of which we have fought. But certain circumstances and conditions and the necessity and urgency of them make us realize our responsibility. It is necessary for us to give our support for these reasons and it is not merely a sense of party discipline but a sense of duty which has forced us to do so.”

* THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ Sir, some hon. Members characterized some provisions here as provisions concerned with

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Gandhian philosophy. It is unfair that Gandhiji's name should have been brought in with these. He is a man by himself. The world has been led to know what Gandhi is and what his philosophy is and what his politics have been. During the last few months, where he has been staying and what he has been doing, would be sufficient to warrant every individual in this country not to mix up his name in this matter.

11
a.m.

"A question was put: Is there any other law on the statute book which can be compared with this draconian law? We all know all, about draconian laws. Whatever may have been the state of affairs when the Ordinance was promulgated and whatever might have been the difficulty on the part of the public and the hon. Members on the Opposition here to understand the real motive of this Government, they cannot say that the same position holds to-day when this Bill has been introduced. Hon. Members with the best of motives and feelings expressed their strong condemnation, but in their anxiety they have forgotten what substantial modifications have been made in this piece of legislation as compared with the Ordinance. Certainly, Sir, not only in the Ordinance promulgated in this Province, but also in the ordinances that are in force to-day in the other provinces, you cannot find a provision similar to the one introduced in this Bill. The provision relating to the Advisory Council cannot be ignored. I have referred how the provision for an Advisory Council in a measure of this nature was estimated and interpreted by the highest of the courts in Britain. This is a special measure coming before the House under special circumstances, and not with any happy feelings on our part. We felt for it as much as the hon. members have been feeling. But the hon. members should not forget what difference it makes by the introduction of the Advisory Council. I can excuse hon. members who have not attached the same value as we have attached to it, because they were not in charge of this subject and did not have an opportunity to study the meaning of the Advisory Council in a special statute of this nature. It is very easy to use harsh words. It is only to prevent that that I am addressing you at this last stage. Pause for a while. The country is being reduced to anarchy, no Government, nothing at all, no police force, no military force, anybody can go and do anything either with man or woman or the property of the public. Hon. members should not forget the circumstances that forced the promulgation of the Ordinance first, and then this Bill. Terrible things are happening in other parts of this country also. From yesterday's news and to-day's news, you know that four streets in that beautiful city of Amritsar have been razed to the ground in a fight that flared up there between certain individuals or parties. We have heard the incidents that took place in Bengal and Bihar. Fortunately we did not reach that stage. Here, we have guaranteed all safeguards for arrest, search and similar things by providing for an Advisory Council. Hon. Members who have read the provisions of this Bill in detail would realize how the Advisory Council has changed the whole character of this measure and how that Council is empowered to go into every detail. After that is introduced, hon. Members

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[Sri T. Prakasam]

should have been fair to us. No doubt we have been opposing the other amendments, because here is a safeguard, here is a guarantee, here are three persons—no doubt, appointed by the Government who will examine the whole thing and deal with the matter using their best judgment. Therefore it is not quite correct to deal with this measure in the manner in which my hon. Friends chose to do. You cannot find comparison in any other part of India where, in a measure intended for special purposes, the Government divested themselves of the powers that they wanted to have. That is the spirit in which we have worked. The provision for an Advisory Council is introduced in the Bill. It is that provision that is going to become law, and it is that provision that is going to govern the future. In addition to that, I give this assurance to the hon. Members—I gave it already but it was in a brief sentence—that it is not the intention of Government to exercise all these powers recklessly and mercilessly. Surely, that should not be the spirit in which a Government should act. Therefore, so far as this measure is concerned, the criticism has not been quite fair.

“ My hon. Friend Mr. Bhima Rao gave us advice. Siding with the hon. Members on the other side, he was doing it. Bhima Rao did not know all the matters relating to his own district or his own province. He said that there was nothing to warrant this measure. What does Mr. Bhima Rao know? He has not known anything, and I would not be justified in giving out the facts because, instead of creating a calm atmosphere, they might disturb the atmosphere. Every part of the province has been so much affected. We have not published those things. We have taken particular care to stop those things. Therefore, I do not feel free to give all the details. If any hon. Friend would come to me and ask about his own district, I can tell him what the position there is. I did not wish to interrupt Mr. Bhima Rao from a party point of view. I wanted to know exactly what he wanted to say. With wrong ideas, he was going on. He did not know his own district. He did not know what reports we were getting about the activities that were going on in his district.

“ No further assurance need be given by me, Sir. We on this side are all very anxious to see that there is no abuse of the provisions of this Bill and even the provisions of the Ordinance. My hon. Friend, Mr. Madhava Menon, has explained to some extent how anxious we were during the period of the Ordinance in the administration of the provisions. So the House can have the assurance which he gave.”

SRI K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ May I know whether Mr. Madhava Menon has given the assurance in the name of the Government? ”

SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—“ I did not give any assurance, Sir.”

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ Mr. Madhava Menon did not give any assurance. This spirit of finding something wrong in everything is bad.”

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MR. PRESIDENT :—“ He did not give any assurance ; he simply explained matters.”

11-10
a.m.

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ This measure has been discussed seriously enough. Some hon. Members may be feeling that the amendments which they brought forward have not been accepted. As far as the Government is concerned, I may say that they will not delegate their powers, if possible, to police officers and that they will make themselves responsible for giving effect to this measure. There is also the safeguard provided for, the appointment of the Advisory Council. In appointing the Advisory Council I give the assurance that the Government will keep in mind the principles and suggestions contained in the amendments moved by hon. Members, as to what kind of persons should be there, who should be the persons who should look into the matter as occasion arises.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ The motion is that the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Bill, 1947 (L.A. Bill No. 8 of 1947) as passed by the Assembly, be passed into law.”

The motion was put and declared carried.

K. Uppi Sahib Bahadur demanded a poll and the House divided as follows :—

Ayes.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1 Sri B. Veeraswami. | 11 Sri T. Purushotham. |
| 2 „ K. Madhava Menon. | 12 „ N. Ramabhadra Raju. |
| 3 „ B. Bhima Rao. | 13 „ C. Perumalswami Reddiyar. |
| 4 „ L. Subbarama Reddi. | 14 „ O. P. Ramaswami Reddiyar. |
| 5 „ S. A. S. Rm. Ramanatham Chettiyar. | 15 „ S. Jayaram Reddiyar. |
| 6 „ P. Veerabhadraswami. | 16 „ C. Veerabhadra Rao. |
| 7 „ M. Narayana Rao. | 17 „ N. Ranga Reddi. |
| 8 „ N. Sankara Reddi. | 18 „ V. Nagappa Chettiyar. |
| 9 „ M. Narayana Menon. | 19 „ G. Venkata Reddi. |
| 10 „ K. Natarajan. | 20 „ P. R. K. Sarma. |
| | 21 „ S. B. Adityan. |

Noes.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1 K. Uppi Sahib Bahadur. | 7 Sri M. D. T. Kumaraswami Mudaliyar. |
| 2 K. T. M. Ahmed Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur. | 8 Mrs. M. Hensman. |
| 3 Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar. | 9 Mrs. M. N. Clubwalla. |
| 4 Sri B. Narayanaswami Nayudr. | 10 Sri R. Suryanarayana Rao. |
| 5 Abdul Latif Farookhi Sahib Bahadur. | 11 Mr. K. O. Anthoni. |
| 6 Dr. Syed Tajuddin Sahib. | 12 Dr. V. K. John. |
| | 13 Sri Rao Bahadur D. Krishnamurthi. |
| | 14 Sri H. M. Jagannatham. |

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ I do not think there are any neutrals. Ayes 21, Noes 14. The motion is carried and the Bill is passed into law.”

“ May I know the wishes of hon. Members? Do they wish to carry on or to have a recess? Shall we go on now with the consideration of the Budget?”

K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ We shall have some recess now ; we can sit later.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ Then we will have to sit longer in the evening.”

SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—“ We can finish Questions and Answers ; then we can adjourn.”

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II.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ Shall we take up Questions and Answers now or adjourn? It is left to hon. Members. The position is this. We can consider the Budget for five hours. If half an hour is taken up by Questions and Answers, we will have 4½ hours. We will meet between 1 p.m. and 6 p.m. or between 2 p.m. and 7 p.m. We shall now take up Questions and Answers.” 11-20 a.m.

Contribution towards the expenses of Constituent Assembly.

* 80 Q.—ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR : Will the Hon. the Prime Minister be pleased to state what financial contribution has been made or is proposed to be made by the Madras Government, towards the expenses of the Constituent Assembly?

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ No contribution has been made or is proposed to be made by this Government towards the expenses of the Constituent Assembly.”

Revival of time-gun.

* 81 Q.—ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR : Will the Hon. the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether the Government propose to order the revival of the time-gun in order that the citizens of Madras City may get to know the exact time?

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ The question was taken up with the local military authorities soon after the cessation of hostilities, but as the necessary ammunition is now obsolete and no stock is available, it has not been possible to revive the time-gun signal at Madras. The Government propose to address the Government of India to see if a modern gun can be secured.”

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR : “ Will the Government consider any other method by which people can know the exact time? ”

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ Yes, Sir; it will be considered.”

Audit of co-operative societies.

* 82 Q.—MR. K. O. ANTHONI : Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that the concurrent audit of co-operative societies takes place months after the concerned month;

(b) whether the final audit of co-operative societies takes place several months after the close of the co-operative year; and

(c) if the answers to (a) and (b) are in the affirmative, what the cause for the delay is and what steps the Government are going to take to see that the concurrent and final audits are made in time?

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THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI :—“(a) Concurrent audit is provided for certain bigger co-operative institutions with heavy transactions such as district central banks, district wholesale stores, big urban banks, stores societies, weavers' societies, marketing societies, milk-supply societies, etc. It is generally done monthly or quarterly and the accounts are taken up for audit soon after the close of the month or quarter, as the case may be. While every effort is being made to keep the concurrent audit of societies up to date, it has not been possible to keep up to the schedule on account of the increase in number of societies and the volume of transactions and in such cases some delay is unavoidable.

“(b) The programme for final or annual audit is so drawn up as to provide for the completion of the audit of all societies before the end of January, i.e., within 7 months after the close of the Co-operative year. In this programme priority is given to central banks whose audit is expected to be completed by the month of August, district wholesale stores whose audit is to be completed by the end of September and primary stores, urban banks, weavers' societies and other societies paying audit fees, whose audit is scheduled to be completed by the end of November. Here also it is not possible to adhere to the schedule. This year, due to the special arrangements made, it is hoped to complete the audit of all societies earlier.

“(c) The delay in audit is mainly due to the following causes :—

- (i) During the last few years, the number of societies have increased with no corresponding increase in the audit staff.
- (ii) The audit of rural credit societies, which form the majority of societies, now take more time consequent on several of them having undertaken procurement of foodgrains and distribution of controlled articles.
- (iii) The transactions of non-credit societies, especially stores societies and weavers' societies and milk-supply societies have increased considerably in volume.
- (iv) inadequacy of audit staff; and
- (v) the manning of a large number of posts with untrained men under emergency provisions owing to the dearth of trained men. To speed up concurrent audit the Registrar has asked bigger co-operative institutions in each district to form themselves into groups and take the services of Senior Inspectors or Junior Inspectors as the case may be for the exclusive audit of their accounts. The Registrar is also examining the possibility whether the central banks and district co-operative wholesale stores cannot employ staff exclusively for their audit and release the departmental staff employed for their concurrent audit so that the staff may be available for the audit of smaller societies. The Registrar has also submitted proposals for the employment of additional staff for audit work and those proposals are under consideration.”

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MR. K. O. ANTHONI :—" Will the Hon. Minister take information from me that there are very many societies in which the concurrent and final audit has been considerably delayed? "

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI :—" I take the information from the hon. Member and I shall certainly go into the matter."

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—" May I know how long it will take for the Government to come to a decision regarding the steps to be taken for increasing the audit staff? "

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI :—" We have come to a decision, Sir, and very soon it will be put into effect."

Starting of cement factories.

* 83 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO : Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government of India invited by a Press Note applications for starting cement factories;

(b) whether in response to it a number of persons and institutions applied and if so who they are with full particulars;

(c) whether the Government of Madras recommended all or any of the applications;

(d) whether the Government of India accepted all or any of the recommendations;

(e) who the persons are whose applications were approved by the Government of India;

(f) whether one of the applications recommended by the Government of Madras was one submitted by Sri Rao Bahadur B. P. Sesha Reddi of Kurnool and others;

(g) whether the Government of India did not sanction the application referred to in (f) in the first instance;

(h) whether the Government of Madras time and again pressed for the favourable consideration of Sri Rao Bahadur Sesha Reddi's application as a special case;

(i) whether the Government of India as a special case approved the application of Sri Rao Bahadur B. P. Sesha Reddi for one unit of fifty thousand tons capacity for a factory at Kurnool;

(j) whether it is a fact that on receipt of this sanction of the Government of India, Sri Rao Bahadur B. P. Sesha Reddi was informed by telegram by this Government not to enter into any commitments as they had represented to the Government of India that Madras Government desire to establish cement as well as other basic industries as nationalized industries;

(k) whether the Government of Madras refused to recommend to the Government of India applications for capital issue and for registration of capital goods required for the cement factory which have long been pending with them; and

(l) what the policy of the Government is on nationalization in general and with special reference to cement in particular?

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THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI :—“(a) Yes.

“(b) A statement^a showing the particulars of the applicants for cement industry is placed on the table of the House.

“(c) The Government of Madras recommended the following applications :—

(i) Sri S. N. N. Sankaralinga Ayyar.

(ii) Sri Rao Bahadur B. P. Sesha Reddi.

(iii) Sri A. Satyanarayanamurthy.

(iv) Sri S. S. Natarajan.

(v) The Raja of Venkatagiri.

“(d) to (f) The Government of India have accepted the recommendations of this Government in regard to the applications from the following persons only :—

(i) Sri S. N. N. Sankaralinga Iyer.

(ii) Sri Rao Bahadur B. P. Sesha Reddi.

“(g) & (h) It will not be in the public interest to disclose details of such correspondence between the two Governments.

“(i) This Government's recommendation for a cement factory at Kurnool was accepted by the Government of India in October 1946.

“(j) Yes.

“(k) & (l) The Government have under consideration the question of nationalization of certain basic industries including cement manufacture and until they reach a decision on this matter further action on individual applications has been deferred.

“I should like to add to this, that these questions have been considered and also the question of nationalization. It is likely that the individual concern may get the licence under certain conditions. That will be informed in due course, because the decisions are not yet complete.”

Pay of Assistant Crown Prosecutors and Assistant Public Prosecutors.

* 84 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO : With reference to answers to Question No. 57 and supplementary questions on the same, will the Hon. the Minister for Law be pleased to state—

(a) when the grades of salaries of Assistant Crown Prosecutors and Assistant Public Prosecutors were fixed ;

(b) whether in view of the increased cost of living, the question of revising the grades has been considered ;

(c) whether the duties performed by officers belonging to different grades are the same or different ;

(d) if the duties are the same, whether there is need to maintain officers of different grades instead of one grade ;

(e) what the rules governing their travelling allowances are ;

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(f) whether Police Officers are eligible for appointment as Assistant Crown Prosecutors or as Assistant Public Prosecutors;

(g) whether there have been instances where Police Prosecuting Officers have been preferred for these appointments even when they do not satisfy the qualifications fixed in spite of the fact that there are other eligible candidates;

(h) whether the question of exercising supervision over the work of these officers by the Public Prosecutors has been considered, in view of the fact that the District Magistrate is also the head of the Police in the district; and

(i) whether the Government propose to consider the question of transferring the power of recruitment of these officers to the Public Service Commission?

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—“(a) The existing scales of pay were fixed in 1943 in the case of Assistant Crown Prosecutors and in 1944 in the case of Assistant Public Prosecutors.

“(b) Yes. The question was examined by the Cabinet Salaries Committee, 1946, and its recommendations have been accepted by the Government.

“(c) The duties performed by the officers belonging to the different grades are not the same; while the Junior Assistant Crown Prosecutors and Senior Assistant Crown Prosecutors perform the same duties, the Chief Assistant Crown Prosecutor has more onerous duties such as advising the Commissioner and also taking up the more important cases.

“(d) The two grades of Junior Assistant Crown Prosecutors and Senior Assistant Crown Prosecutors are considered necessary in order to provide scope for financial advancement by way of promotion from the junior to the senior grade

“(e) Assistant Crown Prosecutors and Assistant Public Prosecutors are governed by the Madras Travelling Allowance Rules.

“(f) Prosecuting Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Police are eligible for appointment as Assistant Public Prosecutors, Grade I and Grade II respectively.

“(g) There have been cases where Prosecuting Sub-Inspectors of Police without the prescribed legal qualifications, were appointed as Assistant Public Prosecutors, Grade II. The appointments were made because the officers concerned were found suitable and efficient.

“(h) The answer is in the negative.

“(i) No such proposal is under consideration at present.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“May I know, Sir, why Police officers were appointed as Assistant Public Prosecutors when they did not possess the prescribed legal qualifications while candidates possessing the necessary qualifications and eligible for the posts were available and why this step was considered necessary by the District Magistrate?”

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THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—“ Though they have no legal qualifications, still in the light of experience they have been able to carry on their duties quite satisfactorily.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ May I know, Sir, whether the Government have waived the qualifications in respect of these officers or whether the appointing authorities themselves have waived them? ”

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—“ I don't know, Sir; the Government must call for the information and must set right, if they are irregular.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ Sir, in Madura, where there are a number of competent lawyers available, where is the necessity to prefer police officers? ”

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—“ The District Magistrate must have thought that in cases like these, the police officers would prove more efficient than Assistant Public Prosecutors.”

SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—“ May I invite the attention of the Hon. Minister that a Graduate in Law is a necessary qualification for such posts? ”

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—“ Yes, Sir, but in some cases there were exceptions.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ What is the need for exemption in a district like Madura where there are a number of lawyers? ”

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—“ I will investigate that matter, Sir.”

SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—“ Should not any attempt be made to invite applications from lawyers before filling these posts by police officers? ”

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—“ If it is with regard to Madura, I say again I shall investigate it.”

Digging pits by the roadside.

* 85 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO: Will the Hon. the Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that the practice of digging pits, sometimes deep, by the roadside for removing earth required for road-making or road repairs has become widespread;

(b) whether in the rainy seasons water stagnates in these pits;

(c) whether these pits form ideal farms for mosquito breeding;

(d) whether malaria prevails in most of the villages by the roadside on account of the objectionable practice referred to in (a);

(e) whether the Government have at any time considered the desirability of putting a stop to the practice in the interests of public health;

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(f) whether the Government propose to take any steps to ensure that pits are not dug in the above manner;

(g) whether the railway companies also resort to similar practice for removing earth to strengthen the track;

(h) what steps are being taken to prevent the railway companies from digging such pits; and

(i) whether the Government propose to examine the whole question anew?

THE HON. SRI K. R. KARANTH :—“(a) Burrow pits are often made in removing gravel and earth required for road-making or road repairs.

“(b) Water is likely to stagnate in these pits during the rainy season.

“(c) Stagnant collections of clear water in these pits may serve as breeding grounds for mosquitoes.

“(d) Such stagnation may cause malaria but there is no information as to whether and to what extent malaria prevails in roadside villages solely as a result of the practice referred to.

“(e) Yes.

“(f) In the interest of road-making and road repairs it is not practicable to prohibit absolutely the removal of gravel and earth from roadside land. Local officers have been instructed to empty the pits as far as possible by cutting drains, but it is not always possible to drain pits effectively. Adequate steps will be taken to drain the pits as far as possible where they have necessarily to be dug on roadside lands.

“(g) Yes, except in the limits of towns where the earth is brought in ballast trains.

“(h) Such burrow pits are made by the Railway Administration in exercise of the powers vested in them under section 7 of the Indian Railways Act, 1890. In doing so the Railway Administrations avoid any action which is likely to prejudice public health. When the ground is falling or rising burrow pits are connected so as to drain away water to the nearest culvert or waterway. Local bodies can take action under section 123 of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920, and section 224 of the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920, to enforce the obligation of the Railway authorities to prevent a pit from becoming a source of danger to the health of the neighbourhood. The Railway Authorities have also reported that they are prepared to extend their co-operation in this matter. No other steps are proposed to be taken.

“(i) No, in view of the answer to clauses (f) and (h).

“I may add to the written answer with reference to clause (f) that instructions have been issued to see that in regard to towns, and villages in panchayat areas, as far as possible, these pits are not made, as they are likely to prove a source of nuisance and trouble to the public.”

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Plans to check soil erosion.

* 86 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO: Will the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture be pleased to state what plans the Government have to check soil erosion in the Province and whether any specific schemes have been sanctioned for the purpose?

THE HON. SRI B. VENKATARATNAM :—“ The first part of the question is a very wide one which cannot be answered fully in a question as there are a number of schemes and suggestions on the technical and practical side of the issue. Anyhow schemes now undertaken are given below :—

(1) The District staff of the Agricultural Department in all districts do propaganda on the following items of soil conservation work :—

- (i) Contour bunding and contour ploughing and gully plugging;
- (ii) Strip cropping;
- (iii) Tree planting, hedge planting, planting grasses, etc.;
- (iv) Construction of check dams;
- (v) Terracing of sloping lands;
- (vi) Cultivation of cover crops.

(2) With a view to popularizing the bunding of lands for greater absorption of rain water and preventing soil erosion, the Government sanctioned in 1944 a scheme of demonstration with wooden bund-formers in six taluks in Bellary district. This scheme has been continued in a larger area in 1946. Three thousand five hundred and ninety-four acres have been bunded in that year.

(3) Experiments on erosion are being conducted in run off plots at Hagari, Bellary district and Nanjanad on the Nilgiris.

(4) The following two schemes have been included in the five-year plan of Post-war Reconstruction :—

- (i) *Formation of soil conservation circles.*—With a view to setting up the necessary organization by the Forest department to deal with the special protection and land management of important catchment areas, the Government have accorded sanction in December 1945 for the formation of a Soil Conservation Division to cover the Nilgiris district and the adjoining Attapadi Valley of Malabar and Coimbatore districts. The Division was formed in January 1946. To enlist the co-operation of the public in pushing through the scheme it was proposed to constitute an advisory body called the Soil Conservation Board consisting of both officials and non-officials. But in view of the present financial position of the Province it has been suggested that this scheme may be dropped. The question of dropping or reviving the scheme will be considered at the next meeting of the Development Board.

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- (ii) *Carrying out contour bunds and contour trenches.*—To conserve rain water and to prevent soil erosion it is proposed to carry out contour bunds and contour trenches over a lakh of acres every year in the Vizagapatam district and in one of the Ceded Districts and demonstrate the advantages of dry farming methods. Proposals have now been received for carrying out experimental contour bunding work over an area of 5,000 acres near Guntakal and 2,500 acres near Hagari in Bellary district. To begin with, the question of undertaking legislation on the lines of the Bombay Land Improvement Scheme Act, 1942, to enable contour bunding work being undertaken is under consideration of the Government.
- (5) A Dry Farming Research Scheme financed partly by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and partly by the Provincial Government has been in progress at Hagari in the Bellary district from 1934 onwards. The object of the scheme is to demonstrate the advantages of the improved dry farming practices, bunding and strip cropping.
- (6) The Government have had a comprehensive text-book on Soil Erosion compiled for the benefit of departmental officers, students at the Agricultural, Forest, etc., colleges, and others. The book is in the press and is expected to be published shortly."

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—" May I know, Sir, how long since this scheme for preventing soil erosion near Guntakal has been pending with the Government and when any practical work will be begun?"

THE HON. SRI B. VENKATARATNAM :—" I want notice, Sir."

Formation of food committees.

* 87 Q.—ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR : Will the Hon. the Minister for Motor Transport and Food be pleased to state—

(a) whether district, taluk and village food committees have been formed in all the districts of the Province;

(b) if not, when are they expected to be formed;

(c) whether it is a fact that even in some of the districts, where food committees have been formed members of the legislature, representing those districts and residing in villages, where such committees have been formed, have neither been consulted nor invited to attend the meetings of such committees; and

(d) if so, what steps Government have taken or propose to take to make the district authorities act in accordance with the instructions of the Government in this respect?

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THE HON. SRI R. RAGHAVA MENON :—“(a) District Committees have been formed in all the districts. Taluk and Village Committees have yet to be formed in some districts as shown below :—

Name of the district.	Number of Committees yet to be formed.	
	Taluk Committees.	Village Committees.
1 Guntur	..	5
2 Nellore	2	..

“(b) Necessary instructions have been issued to the Collectors in the matter and it is hoped that these remaining committees will also be formed very soon.

“(c) Clear instructions have been issued to all Collectors that local members of the Legislatures should be consulted in forming the village committees. The Government are not aware of any complaints so far that these instructions were not adhered to. As the members of the Legislatures are ex-officio members of the District and Taluk Committees, it is expected previous notice of the meetings of these committees will be given to members of legislature residing in villages by the Secretary or the President of the Village Committees concerned. The Government are not aware of any default by any of the Committees in this respect.

“(d) In view of the answer to ‘(c)’ above the question does not arise.”

K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—“Are the Government aware that Muslim Members of the Central Legislature are not included as members of some of the District and Taluk Committees? Is there any discrimination?”

THE HON. SRI R. RAGHAVA MENON :—“There is no discrimination in this respect; because all members of the Legislatures are ex-officio members, and so this question does not arise.”

K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—“I know notice has not gone to certain Members of the Central Legislature from some District and Taluk Committees.”

THE HON. SRI R. RAGHAVA MENON :—“The Government are not aware of it; they are entitled to get the notices. The Government will make enquiries.”

Alleged supply of provisions from the Wholesale Rice Co-operative Stores at Tiruvottiyur.

* 88 Q.—SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR : Will the Hon. the Minister for Motor Transport and Food be pleased to state—

(a) whether he has received a petition from one Mr. M. Muni-rathna Sarma, President, Village Food Committee, Tiruvottiyur,

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in July 1946, regarding supply of provisions, etc., from the Wholesale Rice Co-operative Stores at Tiruvottiyur, without permit from the rationing authorities ;

(b) whether similar petitions were received by the Collector and the Divisional Officer of the Saidapet taluk ;

(c) whether any action was taken thereon ; and

(d) if not, whether the Government propose to take any action on the same?

THE HON. SRI R. RAGHAVA MENON :—“(a) Yes. The complaint made in the petition was that the Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies with a party of about 70 persons visited Kathivakkam, a village near Tiruvottiyur, on a pleasure trip, that Sri Rangaswami Ayyangar, Manager of the Wholesale Co-operative Stores, in Tiruvottiyur, arranged with one ‘Kumara Vilas’ Hotel to prepare 250 iddlies and 100 jilabees to entertain the party and that this was done without obtaining the previous permission of the Rationing authorities.

“(b) Yes.

“(c) & (d) The petition received by the Government was forwarded to the Board of Revenue (Civil Supplies) and by the Board to the Collector for necessary action. With reference to the petitions received by the Collector and the Divisional Officer, Saidapet, the Collector conducted an enquiry into the matter and sent a report to the Board, with the connected records. The Board, after perusing the records, instructed the District Rationing Officer, to obtain the sanction of the District Magistrate, Chingleput for the prosecution of the persons who violated the orders of the Government, prohibiting the holding of a party consisting of more than 30 persons, consult the Public Prosecutor, get a complaint drafted and have it filed in the Court. The Collector has since reported that necessary action is being taken in this regard.”

Alleged reservation of front seats in buses in mufassal.

* 89 Q.—ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR : Will the Hon. the Minister for Motor Transport and Food be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that the front seats in buses plying in the mufassal are permanently marked with the word “reserved” ; and

(b) whether this mark is used as a cover to evict passengers occupying the front seats in order to provide comfortable accommodation to officials, especially of the Police and Revenue departments?

THE HON. SRI R. RAGHAVA MENON :—“(a) & (b) Government have no information that this is generally the case though there may be some such instances.”

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ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ Will the Government make enquiries with regard to this matter, that members of the public are ousted from their seats and places are provided for officials, especially those belonging to the Police department? ”

THE HON. SRI R. RAGHAVA MENON :—“ Certainly; the Government will take strong action if anything like that is done.”

SRI K. O. ANTHONI :—“ Will the Government take the information from us that it is being carried out? ”

THE HON. SRI R. RAGHAVA MENON :—“ The Government have already, on the information contained in the question, taken steps in the matter.”

K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ Will the Government issue necessary instructions to the concerned people and to the bus-owners? ”

THE HON. SRI R. RAGHAVA MENON :—“ The Government have already taken, as I said, action in the matter.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ Will the Government issue a Press Communiqué, so that the public may know their rights in the matter? ”

THE HON. SRI R. RAGHAVA MENON :—“ No difficulty in doing that, I think.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ The House will now adjourn and will meet at 2 p.m.”

(After lunch—2 p.m.)

III.—GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1947-48—cont.

* SRI P. VEERABHADRASWAMI :—“ Mr. President, Sir, the Budget contains a large number of items which are beneficial to the villagers. The Hon. the Premier is to be congratulated for preparing a truly villagers' budget. Prohibition is working already in eight districts and may be extended to other districts next year. The introduction of prohibition is responsible for the loss of huge revenues of about ten lakhs of rupees. This policy of introducing prohibition has been taken up by our Ministry and the poor people are greatly benefited by this policy. Our children and our children's children will be very grateful for the policies that have been initiated by the present Ministry with the support of the legislators belonging to all parties. Our Government has done very well in tiding over the food crisis last year. A number of schemes that are essential for producing food grains are being taken on hand. Firstly, the well-sinking scheme for which the Government have been giving grants has been responsible to help the small agriculturists; but the Government grant of Rs. 300 for each well is not adequate during these days when the prices of all materials and the cost of labour have gone up. The poor cultivator is not able to invest his portion and is under a great handicap. So, I would suggest that the Government grant may be raised to Rs. 500 at least.

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[Sri P. Veerabhadraswami]

" Sir, I come from the Vizagapatam district which is a dry and deficit district. Last year, we have placed before the Minister for Public Works a number of irrigation schemes—no doubt they are minor schemes—but, not even one of them has been provided for in the Budget. Sir, in order to have more food grains, it is necessary to have good manures and the condition of the cattle also has to be immensely improved. Veterinary doctors who are trained not only in the western system of medicine but also in Ayurvedic and Homoeopathic systems should be encouraged and should be employed to look after the cattle so that we can have a better kind of cattle and a more healthy kind of cattle for our agricultural purposes and also for the purpose of giving more milk which is very important for all human beings.

" In the matter of education, Sir, the Government have failed to introduce compulsory elementary education in the whole Province. This is a very important subject and must be dealt with by the Government at least in the coming years. The system of elementary schools in this Province under which some are run by the Government and others by local bodies and by private agencies is not working well, and there is a large amount of discontent among the primary school teachers. In order to remove these defects, it is highly necessary that all elementary schools should be run by the Government. There are large sums provided in the Budget for school buildings. In these days when economy and simplicity are essential, we do not require any palatial buildings for our schools, for our hospitals and for our Government offices. It is enough if they are simple and least costly. For instance, the buildings in which the offices of the Director of Industries are located are very simple and very cheap. Such buildings can be had for all purposes, for education, for hospitals as well as for public offices. The King George's Hospital in Vizagapatam is growing more and more in popularity. Patients from all parts of the Northern Circars are flocking to this hospital. I fail to find adequate provision made in the Budget for the improvement of this hospital.

" Sir, a pleasant feature of the Budget is the provision that is made for starting a number of cottage industries and for giving training to a number of workers in the various parts of the Province. Sir, it is highly essential to see that these cottage industries thrive in our Province and I may say that there will be no conflict between cottage industries and big industries. In highly advanced countries like Japan, Germany, America and other countries cottage industries are playing a very important part. In these days when consumer goods are very scarce in the market and people are greatly in need of them, it is essential that the Government should pay even more attention to the improvement of these cottage industries. Government should try to prepare a number of articles that are required in daily use by means of these cottage industries.

" Sir, it has been the policy of the present Government to remove middle-men in business. It may be a good thing but this policy will throw out a large number of small merchants and necessary provision will have to be made for the maintenance of

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these men. I suggest to the Government that training be given to the young men belonging to the merchant families in a number of industries, cottage as well as small industries, so that they may run these industries efficiently, have a living for themselves and also prepare a large number of articles that are necessary for the daily use of the people.

" Sir, for starting the Madras Industrial Finance Corporation, the Government have set apart a sum of fifty lakhs of rupees in the Budget. It is a very good thing. Another fifty lakhs of rupees have been set apart for starting certain basic industries, and it has been suggested that cement should be one of them. Sir, cement is greatly in demand and it has a great future. Even in the villages, we have to see that strong buildings and strong houses are built and for that purpose cement is essential. I suggest that one cement factory at least in each district may be started. I find that a large number of applications from private individual companies are pending with the Government. I suggest that the Government do grant permits to these companies and take at least fifty per cent of the shares so that the companies may run on efficient lines under the supervision of the Government and at the same time, allow the private companies to have their share in the business. As I said, at least one factory is necessary in each district because the demand for cement is so great that we are obliged to get it from long distances and if each district has a factory of its own, the transport difficulties can be minimized and the cost also will be smaller.

" Now, I come to the textile policy of the Government which has been the target of attack to a large extent. As one who has faith in the Gandhian economy and who has been doing some little work in the villages, I am sure the khadi policy of the Government will be a success in the long run. It is not possible with the existing textile factories to supply sufficient yarn to the handloom weavers. These handloom weavers are able to get supplies of yarn to provide them work only for ten days in the month and there is no prospect of increasing the output of yarn in the near future. So, in these circumstances, I think we have to fall back upon the charka for our immediate supplies. People in the villages are ready to take to spinning but there are a number of handicaps. The condition of the villages is so bad and they have been reduced to such a bad position on account of the circumstances that prevailed in the past, that the people in the villages are not producing their own cloth. We find, Sir, the villagers are not producing cotton even for their own purposes; even for one yard of cloth they have to go to the market for purchasing it. Owing to the scarcity of cloth in the market and due to the high prices prevailing, they can as well prepare their own cloth and they can also balance their budget.

" Sir, I may be permitted to say a few words about my own experience in this matter during the last Gandhi Day Celebrations. A small village containing about 75 families invited me to conduct a spinning demonstration. I, along with ten of my friends went and conducted a non-stop spinning demonstration for 24 hours and

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the villagers' enthusiasm was so great and women and children came forward to spinning and after I explained to them the economics of khadi the villagers agreed to spin their requirements, but they only wanted up-to-date good charkas to be supplied and so I arranged with some of my friends to supply them with 75 charkas and now they have been doing this work and are spinning; and good reports are coming from the village to me. I have also gone to some other villages and conducted spinning demonstration and all those villages have now taken to spinning. I am glad to say that in some places 20 per cent and in some other places 25 per cent have taken to it and are trying to solve the problem at least to some extent. For a long time, Sir, the villages have been neglected and towns have been allowed to grow; the condition of the towns is growing from bad to worse and the condition of the villages has always been bad. It should be the policy of the present Government to see that towns are not allowed to grow more and more and the villages are made more and more popular and if the conditions are created in such a way that people in the towns, at least those who can find employment in agriculture and cottage industries can be taken back to the villages, I am sure the villagers will hum again with activity and with prosperity in the near future."

* MRS. M. N. CLUBWALLA :—" Mr. President, Sir, on going through the Budget it is welcome news that special attention is paid to the improvement of cottage industries essential to the life of village communities. As remarked by the Hon. the Prime Minister, the hereditary and potential skill of village artisans will be fully utilized and modern methods will be introduced and adapted to the extent necessary.

" Harijan uplift which is dear to the heart of all people in this Province is also receiving the attention of the Ministry.

" We congratulate the Premier on the improvement in the food situation and for his foresight in the procurement of the same, so that, since the last Budget, we are able to feel that the food crisis has more or less passed.

" Also, the Government have sanctioned schemes for settling ex-service men in land and colonies and for the formation of Labour Contract Societies of ex-servicemen on a co-operative basis. The other details under the scheme deserve our commendation.

" Turning to the other aspects of the Budget, one notes with disappointment the smallness of amounts granted for Public Health and for social services in the Province. Under the post-war scheme there was great hope for improvement in public health, increase of hospitals, nursing staff and child welfare centres. Not only are these forthcoming, but those that are in existence are not able to work satisfactorily due to want of finance. The hospitals are hopelessly overcrowded and under-staffed. Nurses who are the essential people in nursing and curing the sick have to live in cramped quarters and minor additions which would greatly add to the improvement of the hospitals are very often held up for want of Government sanction.

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" The voluntary workers of the Guild of Service (Seva Samajam), who visit the Government hospitals in Madras, time in and time out, have noticed these defects. I would call on the Government to provide firstly, more accommodation, more nurses and many more hospitals.

" Properly speaking, the work of the Vigilance Association ought to come under Public Health. One hon. Member in the Lower House, Begum Amiruddin, has pointed out the difficulties of the Madras Vigilance Association. This Association is doing one of the most essential services for the sake of public health and work of such a nature does not receive public encouragement as it should, and it is up to the Government to see that the institution which is run under their auspices should not be on the brink of a financial crisis. Since last year this Association has been facing great financial difficulties. We have two welfare workers touring the Province. They naturally do rescue work in the Province, and therefore, bring in more girls to the Home. The grant that is provided by the Government is not adequate enough to meet the diet of these girls, leave alone grant for clothes and equipment. All these years, clothes and equipment were secured by the help of interested friends of the Association. But with the expansion of work we cannot expect things to be as they were. In 1946, the average permanent monthly strength was 120 and in 1947 it is expected that the average strength will be about 150 girls. There is no specific grant and I would request the Government to give at least a per capita grant per mensem as they do to other institutions. The lowest amount that could really help us to do our work with some amount of efficiency is about Rs. 49,000. At the moment our yearly grant from the Government is only Rs. 29,458 which includes the maintenance of the girls, payment of the welfare workers, particularly, staff salaries, touring and other expenses. The other grant that we get is Rs. 1,500 from the Corporation of Madras. But for the timely help given by the Government—made by the Hon. the Minister for Law of an extra grant of Rs. 7,000—the Home would have had to close down. Again in the month of April, we shall meet with the same financial crisis and it would be deplorable if, after 25 years of building up this association against public opinion and want of real understanding, this work should go in vain for want of adequate grant which it is the Government duty to give. The Home has turned out many girls as useful citizens and some have married and settled down in life. I wish our members would visit this Home, for, to see is to believe, how nearly 3,000 girls have been helped.

" Referring to the Indian Women's Civic Corps, started as a war-time measure to teach poorer class women to guard against air-raid attacks, this organization in the last four years has been doing considerable good work in peace-time amongst women all over the Province. It is one of the outstanding organizations where women of all shades of opinion, caste and creed meet and help one another by voluntary service by way of teaching, literacy, domestic science, spinning, sewing, music, cooking, slum work—in fact all methods of disinterested social service. The Indian

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Women's Civic Corps, is working in co-operation with the Prohibition department in the matter of Prohibition. There are nearly 9,000 members, over 200 branches and 951 voluntary workers. This Indian Women's Civic Corps work has been studied by people from different parts of India and they are starting what they had learnt here in other Provinces, viz., Bombay and the Punjab. I hope the Government will see its way to help the Indian Women's Civic Corps in its expansion.

"Girl-guiding is also increasing and the Provincial Girl Guide Council, at the request of the Hon. Minister for Education, is in the process of forming a unity with other Scout movements in the Province. It would be very much appreciated if the grant for the Girl Guide Association could be increased.

"I know, others would say there are more important measures, but each item of service to the country leads to a betterment of the country and when giving grants, I do hope that this Government will take into consideration these requests that I have made."

* SRI H. M. JAGANNATHAM :—"Mr. President, Sir, if I rise to participate in this debate, I do so under a compelling sense of duty, in order to voice the feelings of frustration and widespread disappointment of my community, that this Budget holds out no prospect for us—the 8 millions of untouchables inhabiting this Presidency that deliverance has come to us as well. I know, Sir, that mine is a solitary voice in this House. It cannot be otherwise, either here or elsewhere, under the system of representation that was foisted upon us by the Poona Pact.

"We know, Sir, that real political power rests with the owners of economic power. This Budget, as I shall show presently, is just a subtle and clever device to perpetuate the bondage and slavery of the Scheduled Classes to their Caste-Hindu masters, who have already obtained the reality of power in their hands and if anything is lacking it will be followed up by the devolution of absolute power in June 1948.

"Allow me, Sir, to say a few words on the general political situation to which reference has been made by the Premier in the opening paragraph of his speech introducing the Budget. The Prime Minister has paid a tribute to the 'earnest work of the Cabinet Mission'; he was jubilant over the setting up of the Interim Government at the Centre which according to him is a 'National' Government. Lastly, he was optimistic about the Constituent Assembly elected by the Provincial Legislatures as they are functioning to-day.

"I venture to submit, Sir, that in neither of these bodies—be it the Provincial Legislatures, or the Provincial Cabinets, or the Central Cabinet—much less in the Constituent Assembly, have the Scheduled Classes been allowed to choose or nominate their accredited leaders. That is the sober truth. You may try to explain it away by invoking the high principles of nationalism and democracy. You may say that separate electorates are incompatible with true democracy, or the functioning of a homogenous Cabinet.

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But, if the untouchable is to be pulled out of the depths of degradation, misery and squalour to which he has been condemned to live by centuries of oppression and social tyranny, there is no other way than by giving him his legitimate share of political power. And I submit, Sir, that separate electorates alone can give him a measure of self-confidence and protection, which is so needed at the present moment when we are standing at the cross-roads of destiny.

"The Cabinet Mission that came to India last year were anxious to cajole and conciliate the Congress and the Muslim League. Why? Because these two organizations gave them a lot of trouble. The Britishers are a nation of traders and they feared that unless they cultivate the goodwill of the Congress and the Hindu capitalists represented in the Congress, Great Britain cannot carry on a prosperous trade with India in the future. At the same time, they dared not antagonize the Muslim League because of its repercussions in the international situation and the growing power of Soviet Russia, in the Middle East.

"That, Sir, to my mind, is the basic factor responsible for the shameful betrayal of the Scheduled Classes by the Cabinet Mission, contrary to all the solemn pledges given to us by the British Government in the past.

"Time and again, the Government have admitted on the floor of this House as well as elsewhere that candidates are not forthcoming from the Harijan community to fill up vacancies in higher posts in Government service. If that be true, I say, Sir, it is not true, because your officers have not made any effort to find out the proper candidates from the community, but assuming the statement is correct, it is a very sad commentary on the existing state of things. It shows that you have not initiated the levelling up process. The interests of the Depressed Classes require special care and protection. The impulse must come from within, and the leadership must also come from our community. You may trumpet out to the world that our interests are safe in your hands. You may advertise to the world that you have provided and earmarked one crore of rupees specially for Harijan uplift, and appointed a Harijan Minister to be in charge of that work. But, what has been the result? Nothing has been done, and the lump sum grant of one crore still remains on paper. It will continue to remain on paper from year's end to year's end. Why? I will take one passage from the Prime Minister's speech to illustrate my point that all this talk of Harijan uplift is a mere propaganda stuff, a mere smoke-screen to conceal the real intentions. I am glad that the Government have left us in no doubt as to how their mind is working :

" 'Coming now to Harijan uplift', says the Premier, the scheme which the Government have under consideration (mark the words 'the scheme is still under consideration' though the lump sum provision was made one year ago) is to start colonies in selected places in each district where Harijans, Caste-Hindus, Muslims and others will be encouraged to live side by side and maintain the same standards of living. Schools, hospitals and

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other amenities will be provided for the benefit of *all classes*. (All classes, mind you! that is not Harijan uplift.) The Government intend that these colonies should serve as models for the reconstruction of villages on the basis of self-sufficiency and provision of common facilities for all communities without any distinction and with no disabilities for Harijans . . .

"And then, he goes on to say that the details still remain to be worked out and settled. More than a year has passed and yet the scheme is nebulous!

"I am more concerned with the words 'all communities will have the same facilities and no *special disabilities* will be imposed on Harijans.' Is this Harijan emancipation? Is this the way of rescuing the untouchables from the slough of despondency and despair to which centuries of caste oppression and tyranny have condemned them to live? That is mere camouflage, propaganda stuff, and no more.

"If you are earnest about elevating the Depressed Classes, you must give us opportunities and facilities to rise up, by opening special schools and educational institutions exclusively for our benefit, for primary, secondary and higher education, scholarships and fee-concessions, acquire land and build houses for us, construct roads, foot-paths, wells and burial grounds for us. These are the necessary items of expenditure which you have to incur if you want to raise the social and economic status of the Depressed Classes.

"Coming to the budget proper, I am neither an economist nor a financier, but it strikes me as a layman that what the Government are doing in drawing upon the revenue reserves (may be for financing prohibition) is just the misguided action of a spendthrift son in squandering the earnings of a prudent father. It is bound to spell disaster to the Province in the long run. The Premier has foreshadowed some measures of taxation—such as tax on agricultural incomes, the rise in entertainments tax, and I must in all conscience congratulate the Premier for his boldness in taxing the rich.

"Only I should end with expressing the hope and the prayer of my community that the proceeds of taxing the rich should be expended for the benefit of the poor. Not the common man, but the *forgotten* man, the poor Pariah, the outcaste and untouchable, deserves every care and consideration at the hands of the Government. Let it not be said that the beneficiaries of Government grants for Harijan uplift are the higher Caste Hindus alone and none else."

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—"Mr. President, Sir, before I refer to the Budget proper, I would like to make a few general observations dealing with the political situation. This is the only occasion when we get an opportunity of saying things not pertaining merely to the Budget though everything we say has something to do with the Budget."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"I hope you will make it appear so."

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* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—" I hope, Sir, if you permit me. During the last Budget session, Sir, some of us had occasion to refer to the publication of news in the press regarding differences in the party in power. We regret very much, Sir, such things continue to appear in the press. We regret much more this year, Sir, as the information that has appeared in the press recently is more damaging to the party. We are not interested in party squabbles, nor are we interested, though we may have our own personal predilections, who the leader of the party will be and who his followers are likely to be. What we are concerned, Sir, is about the demoralizing effect the publication of all this news has on the administration."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" So you support the press gag! "

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—" Men may come and men may go, but we, on these benches, will go on as usual. But what is surprising here, Sir, is that some members of the Government including Parliamentary Secretaries should have entered into controversies in the press. The erstwhile Ministers have under the constitution a forum in the Legislative Assembly through which they could make known their reasons for their resignation; instead of that they have chosen the press. In the interests of good Government of this Province we wish this unseemly controversy is brought to an end and a real Ministry enjoying the confidence of the party is installed so that the Ministers may attend to their onerous duties undisturbed by fear and the grim prospect of being made the playthings to satisfy real or imaginary grievances of individuals or groups. I shall not refer any more to this unseemly controversy."

" It may be remembered, Sir, that when the Salaries Bill came up for consideration I raised the question of duties and functions of Parliamentary Secretaries. Since then, Sir, I have sought clarification by means of questions and I must say I have yet to be enlightened. I can only describe them, with all due deference to my good friends, the Parliamentary Secretaries, as I see them ' busy bodies '. I do not blame them, Sir. As I said, Sir, many of them are my very good friends. I am sorry that they are being placed in such an awkward position. What can they do, Sir, when their duties and functions are kept in a nebulous state? The question of status of Parliamentary Secretaries, Sir, is not peculiar to this Province. It has been raised in other Provinces, particularly in the United Provinces. There also has been discontent among Parliamentary Secretaries. There the Parliamentary Secretaries represent Ministers in the Legislature,—this is a reply given by the Hon. the Premier in the United Provinces,—Sir, and the Parliamentary Secretaries perform such other functions as are delegated by the Ministers. The trouble there arose for want of a definition of the words ' other functions '. I had occasion, Sir, to read about the practice that obtained in the Punjab. There I read that the Parliamentary Secretaries are required to take the oath of secrecy and I immediately got into

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touch with our Government to write and obtain for me all possible information on the point so that at least we, who are not within the confidence of the Government, may know what status these Parliamentary Secretaries occupy and what functions they perform in that Province. Sir, it is said there their duties are purely Parliamentary confined to assistance in the Legislature. This is a sentence that I have taken from a letter which I got from the Chief Secretary to the Government from information which *he obtained writing for it at my request*. It is also stated that to perform these duties these Parliamentary Secretaries have to consult files and so the oath of secrecy is a condition of their appointment. Sir, why should not we adopt also a similar procedure here so that Parliamentary Secretaries may attend to Parliamentary work in the real sense and assist the Ministers in discharging their functions in both the Houses of the Legislature? One of the suggestions given and which I pass on for the consideration of the Government is that in preparing answers to questions or replies to resolutions, Parliamentary Secretaries can assist the Ministers. Every bit of information available should be placed at the disposal of these Parliamentary Secretaries and they should work up and prepare the answers and prepare replies in such a manner that they themselves may answer them on the floor of the House or enable their bosses to do so. This would greatly relieve the strain on the Secretariat. As you know, Sir, I am one of the worst sinners in this respect for the number of questions I put must be a source of annoyance not only to the Ministers, Sir, but to the Secretariat.

“Therefore, the Punjab's example may be usefully followed. Let them be entrusted with this work of preparing answers to questions, dive deep into the various records furnished by the Secretariat, prepare the answers subject to the approval of the Ministers and allow the Ministers to attend to other more important work. This is a suggestion which I wish to throw out and if this is accepted, oath of secrecy is absolutely necessary. With due deference to Parliamentary Secretaries, I have to say that they sometimes indulge in giving out the policies of Government before they are announced. It may be they are doing it innocently; but they will be perfectly entitled to do so if they take the oath of secrecy when they will have access to files by right and not by grace as they do now.

2-45
p.m.

“I am one of the worst sinners in sending questions to the Legislature. I believe the right of interpellation in a Legislature is one of the valuable privileges a member enjoys whether he is an elected or a nominated member. Unfortunately, some of us happen to be nominated members of this House—I mean some of us. The purpose of putting a question is not only for eliciting information but also for expediting action on certain matters pending consideration of Government. A writer in the *New Statesman and the Nation* says the purpose is also something more than merely eliciting information and expediting action. He says ‘a parliamentary question is an instrument to probe the weakness of

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Ministers, to uncover what they might prefer to conceal and hasten the repair to public damage.' This purpose is also served sometimes by the questions we are putting. We do not want public damage to be done and we wish to make the Ministers and the Government to be aware that the public are awake to certain actions of theirs which might cause damage to public interests. The same writer goes on: 'Apart from those occasions when a member endures the familiar answers 'I must not anticipate the Budget', or 'if the hon. member will let me have opportunity to look into it', enquiries on matters of fact almost always receive specific answers; almost always but not always.' That has been our experience also. The Hon. Ministers can anticipate the kind of supplementaries which can be expected. When answers are given to supplementary questions they need not cry 'notice'; and a notice means another question and some more work to the Secretariat and then again some more work to the office. If only they read the files carefully on which answers are prepared, which I expect our Parliamentary Secretaries to do, this cry of asking for notice will not in many cases be absolutely necessary and can be avoided. I suggest this with a view to expedite business.

"My hon. Friend Mr. Natarajan pointed out that to a certain extent the tours of the Hon. Ministers can be curtailed; I would add to that the tours of Parliamentary Secretaries also can be curtailed. Taking the Government as a whole, the personnel comes to thirty. If thirty people go about the presidency in different directions and officers of the various departments have to attend on them to answer their queries and supply the information they seek, where is the time for them for attending to their normal work? It is not that any officer has complained to me about the way in which our Ministers tour. The fact is that Parliamentary Secretaries need not go about; if they attend to Parliamentary work, it will keep them at their desks throughout the year.

"I will come to a few general questions relating to the Budget. I will first of all take up education. I do so with some trepidation in the presence of the Vice-Chancellor of the University; but I shall deal with a field in which he is not intimately connected.

"First of all let me take up the regional language controversy. Unfortunately the Hon. Minister for Education is no longer the Minister for Education and I wish he were present here. The regional language controversy was occupying so much of the time of this House and the other House. A number of questions were put and a number of supplementary questions followed. I remember on one occasion, when I was there, the Assembly took half an hour over one question for starting a school at Nellore—half an hour for one question. This was simply because the Hon. Minister stuck to his point concerning regional language. On that occasion, he was unnecessarily aggressive when he could have been accommodative. In this connexion, I would invite the attention of the House and especially the Hon. the Premier to the plea of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad at a conference recently held in Lucknow. He emphasised the plea for the introduction

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of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. If only the Hon. Minister had said that he was going to make the mother tongue as the medium of instruction instead of harping on regional language all the trouble would have ended and the controversy would have died down. Moulana Abul Kalam Azad—I do not want to pronounce it as Abdul as I understood it to be incorrect—not only pleaded for the introduction of mother tongue as the medium of instruction but also for making one of the European languages, preferably English, as a compulsory subject in order to fit in the whole scheme of national education to modern environments. Later on, he clarified the position with regard to the study of the English language in future. If only our Minister had followed this splendid example, much of the controversy would have ceased and more time can be spent in formulating a system of education which will satisfy the people.

“ We were all hoping that under a popular Government more funds would be made available for the spread of compulsory education. Having had something to do with the Post-war Planning Committee where we contributed our little in framing the Post-war Plan of Education in this Province, I thought that at least in regard to education, that plan which accelerated the spread of education would be adopted by this Government. What has been done? A paltry sum of 13½ lakhs of rupees has been provided for the spread of compulsory education and 5 lakhs for the training of teachers and the Hon. Premier has stated in the Budget statement that it is intended to bring in 1½ lakhs of children more into schools. At that rate to bring in three or three and a half million children, assuming that the birth-rate will remain stationary and will not rise, how many years will it take to bring the three million children into schools? The post-war scheme of education contemplated that it should be put into immediate effect and must be accomplished within a particular period of time and all people should receive eighth standard education within a period of twenty years, the first five years to bring three million children more into schools to study up to the fifth standard and the Government provided for the first year 44 lakhs of rupees in their programme. Our popular Government has reduced it to 13½ lakhs of rupees. There is another thing which this Government have discontinued and that is midday meals for children. A free midday meal it was realized by the Post-War Education Committee, was absolutely necessary and that children if they were to benefit from instruction, they must be adequately fed. One of the causes of failure of compulsory education where it has been introduced, was poverty and not the cost of education. Parents are not able to feed their children properly to enable them to go to school and have the benefit of instruction given there. The Post-War Education Committee estimated to bring in under this scheme 3 million children more into schools at a cost of 12½ crores; but this Government have removed that provision from this year's Budget save to some 37 lakhs.

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"I need not say anything about the salaries of teachers; we have said enough on a resolution that is still to be debated upon by this House. I would again implore the Hon. Premier to re-consider the decision of Government and to see that their salaries are raised to a level consistent with the increased standard of living and in the increased cost of living as well. I implore the Government also to see that teachers whatever may be the agency under which they work, are paid the same salary. Let them give up the idea of creating castes among teachers.

"There is the question of financing education. The remark may be hurled against me when I make these proposals that they are wild proposals; but on that also the Sargent Committee has laid down that if it is not possible for any Government to carry out the scheme of education laid down with the help of its accumulated reserves, then the spread of education should be financed even from loans. It is an investment; an investment the results of which may not be visible now but they are bound to be seen in the years to come, an investment on which it is worth while even to spend from funds raised by loans. I also pass on another suggestion to the Hon. Minister for Education, who is not here to listen to us as he is not permitted to listen to us now—I am sorry that even the officiating Minister is not here"

MR. PRESIDENT:—"There is no objection to the other gentlemen to be here; there are seats provided for Assembly members. But I expect you ought to have given him notice."

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—"He must be lounging now and I do not wish to disturb his rest."

K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"When the Budget is being debated upon, all questions will be raised."

3 p.m.

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—"Everyone who knows the conditions under which education is imparted in rural areas knows that schools are located in ill-ventilated, dirty-looking and un-inspiring rented buildings. The provision made in the Budget for school buildings is also meagre. I made a suggestion to the then Hon. Minister for Education that the money for building schools may be found from out of the loan funds instead of from the revenues. That is also a line along which I would like the Hon. the Premier to consider the question of providing good school buildings to our children so that they may be brought up in surroundings which would be conducive to their growth rather than warp their growth.

"Then, Sir, I come to the vexed question of nationalization of industries. There is a provision of Rs. 50 lakhs in the Budget. I am afraid this nationalization has become a slogan. We have been informed of nationalization since the time, I think, this Legislature began to function. But so far we have had no indication of what the Government mean by nationalization, how they propose to plan for nationalization, and how they propose to carry out the plan. Even the Hon. the Prime Minister says it is under

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consideration. Sir, while we are conceiving, other Provinces are taking a march over us, and so we will be left behind in the race. That, Sir, should not be the unfortunate position of this Province. If you are not able to make out a plan for nationalization, allow private interests, under certain conditions, to bring industries into existence, and when you decide to nationalize them you can take them over with their assets and liabilities on such conditions as you may lay down. Did not England do that, Sir? In England coal mines were nationalized. Did the Government start the mining industries? They were there already. They wanted to nationalize transport. Did not England attempt to do that? But why should we, here, allow things to drift and allow time to be lost, because we are not able to make up our minds on principles or make up our plans. In this connexion, I would like to read a very sane and wise utterance of the Finance Minister of the Government of Bombay. He is also a Congress Minister. He is also a co-operator. We know him more as a co-operator than as a Finance Minister. I will read an extract from a weekly journal called the *Commerce*—

'While Mr. Mehta is in favour of state ownership of such public utilities as transport, electricity, and also industries of a monopolistic nature, he feels that nationalization of all industries at this stage of the country's development will be inadvisable and will bring the administration into disrepute. Leaving out points of theoretical consideration and confining himself only to the practical issues involved, Mr. Mehta observed (in his financial statement) in presenting the budget of the Bombay Presidency—"The pace of nationalization will obviously be conditioned by our own resources in economy. Even in these days of inflated finances, there is a limit to the funds which the Government have at their disposal for the layout of these things. First things must come first. With the programme the Government have in view for the development of irrigation, for agricultural improvements, for mass education, for betterment of public health, for electrification, the funds that can be spared for buying over existing undertakings or starting new ones are naturally limited. Government's investments of this type may therefore be confined to industries, and other undertakings where public ownership and management are deemed *absolutely essential* in the larger interests of the community as a whole. The administrative difficulty is no less important than the financial one. . . . The administration has not always been found equal to the required task or take all trade. Moreover, at the highest level, we have no economic experts corresponding to the experts in the sphere of administration who now look after law and order, the collection of land revenue, public works, education and agriculture. It may be rash to take over existing concerns or to start new ones for the management of which Government may either flounder or seek the assistance of businessmen. Nationalization may therefore have to proceed at a pace in conformity with the Government's evaluation of their capacity, financial and administrative, to own and manage large economic enterprises.'

Sir, I commend these words to the Hon. the Premier. I can see, Sir, we also labour under the same difficulties because as I already referred there is a provision of Rs. 50 lakhs in the budget for starting both cement and soda ash industries, whereas each project may perhaps require not less than one crore of rupees. That means we have not got economic experts to advise Government even on the cost of starting and maintaining an industry. I was gratified this morning to hear from the Hon. Minister for Labour and Industries that so far as cement was concerned, they had given up the idea of themselves starting or, at any rate, standing in the way of those who wanted to start a factory in the Ceded

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districts. But what about heavy chemicals? Many glass factories and paper factories suffer for want of soda ash. The whole country suffers from this deficit and the sooner these factories are allowed to come into existence to prepare these heavy chemicals, the better it will be.

"I now come to another vexed question, that is the textile policy. This subject had been discussed *ad nauseum* both in the press and on the platform. I feel, to say anything more on this, will amount to virtual flogging of a dead horse. Recently in reply to a question in the Council of State, the Secretary to the Government of India in the Industries and Supplies Department said on the 25th February that the Madras Government had been informed that the question of cancelling spindles already allotted did not arise. Still, Sir, our Hon. the Prime Minister persists that they are still in correspondence with the Government of India. This answer that they are not prepared to cancel the spindles has been repeated so often by the Government of India. But the Hon. the Prime Minister thinks that he will be able to persuade the Government of India to change their policy.

(At this stage Mrs. Mona Hensman occupied the Chair.)

"I would like, Sir (Interruption). I would like, Madam . . ."

THE CHAIRMAN (MRS. MONA HENSMAN):—"You can address as 'Sir,' because the reference is to the Chair and not to the person."

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—"I would like the Hon. the Prime Minister to make up his mind once for all one way or the other instead of placing the people in an awkward position and in a state of suspense. Commitments have been made by those who were allotted spindles by the Government of India, and no useful purpose will be served by trying to put off facing the inevitable. The Government may feel that they are strong enough to fight with the Central Government, but I feel no purpose will be served by fighting with the Central Government. After all, why should we persist in this policy when the Government of India have been time and again stating that they cannot withdraw the spindles already granted? I find that the Hon. the Premier has quoted the legal opinion of the Advocate-General in support of his position that the Madras Government have got the power to cancel the spindles. There is, in the words of the Hon. the Prime Minister, another legal luminary, who is giving a different opinion. One is pitted against the other, and we common people, laymen, do not know which opinion is the correct one. But we have every right to feel that the opinion expressed by the Government of India is the correct one. That is the opinion that appeals to the common man. We feel, Madam, that this Government, instead of wasting any more time in correspondence with the Government of India or fighting with them by going to the Federal Court to establish their right to order things in this Province as they like,

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should allow these spindles to be imported and utilized. If necessary, they may not register their claims for further spindles when offered. After all, what is the purpose of these spindles? It is only to provide adequate yarn to the large number of handloom weavers in this Province. I can very well understand if the Hon. the Prime Minister takes objection to weaving mills. But most of our mills are spinning mills, and the existing spinning mills are not able to spin all the yarn required in this Province by the handlooms. Handloom industry is one of the major cottage industries of this Province. The handlooms are already suffering for want of sufficient yarn, and if these spindles are not taken, and if the quantity of yarn required by the handloom weavers is not forthcoming in this Province itself, yarn from outside is sure to be dumped on us. The Prime Minister may then say that he will take the law into his hands and prohibit altogether the import of yarn into this Province. I wish, Madam, the khadi policy adopted by the Madras Government all success. I do not mind crores of rupees being spent in order to encourage, and even subsidise khadi. But should the handloom weavers wait till sufficient quantity of khadi yarn is produced to meet their requirements? All that we say is by the time sufficient quantity of khadi yarn becomes available in this Province, perhaps more handlooms will come into existence to meet the growing demand for cloth in this Province. Why not we allow the existing allotment to be taken advantage of? I have more than once suggested in the press and on the platform that a judicious adjustment in production should be made, so that mills do not compete with the handlooms and the handlooms do not compete with khadi, so that each is allowed to develop without detriment to the other. It is easily possible for the Hon. Prime Minister to plan it. Instead of that, I am afraid, the Premier is taking up an attitude which is,—and here I do not wish to use any unparliamentary word, and I do not wish to embarrass you, Madam, by any such word, and so I would respectfully say,—nothing but unreasonable (I hope it is a parliamentary expression) and the sooner he would revise his views on this matter the better for the Province. Let me here once again repeat, we have nothing against khadi at all. By all means subsidise khadi and do all things to bring it within the reach of the poor man. In passing may I say this : it is now nearly six months since khadi scheme was promulgated. I use the word 'promulgated' advisedly, because there is a certain amount of compulsion in it. May I know what is the amount of khadi yarn produced in these three or four months? We have not been furnished any information about it so far. Those who believe in spinning mills are crying hoarse saying that these mills are necessary in order to meet the needs of handlooms. There is no one to tell us what is the amount of yarn produced under the khadi scheme to meet the growing demand of the handlooms. I am afraid, as a matter of fact, that scheme has only just been begun. And may I ask, how many years it will take, even if all the firkas are made to engage themselves day-in and day-out without going to other avocations to spin, for them to produce the yarn that is

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required by the handlooms? There are other avocations for the people to pursue so that other needs of the community could be satisfied by the producers. So all I would say, Madam, in all humility is, we request the Premier not to persist in this negative attitude. This is negative attitude that he is adopting and it does not promote the economic welfare of the people. He is marring the future prospects of trade and commerce of this Province. It may be he is not conscious of it, but posterity will pronounce the judgment.

"Then I come to the producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies. I claim to be a co-operator. I must say the Minister for Agriculture considers me as a co-operator. I have spent some time and energy in studying, understanding and in working co-operative societies. Therefore, I was greatly pained by the paragraph in the Premier's budget speech dealing with producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies, wherein he has unnecessarily gone out of his way and condemned the co-operative movement, when there was no need for it. Nobody denies that the co-operative movement has got its own defects like any other movement. Nobody says the co-operative movement is perfect. But why persist in quoting figures which do not at all bear any relationship to the problem at issue, namely, figures and facts relating to credit societies? If the Premier had only quoted figures and facts relating to store societies which have done so well in assisting Government in procurement and other operations, one would have understood him in condemning these store societies as not having risen to the occasion to meet the needs of the society. I would have gladly bowed to his criticism. Here are the figures relating to procurement operations conducted by the co-operative stores societies. The purchasers primary stores procured paddy and millets worth 21 lakhs in 1945-46, the marketing societies 7.85 lakhs and the wholesale stores 280.41 lakhs. Is this a small amount of procurement they have done? Is it fair to condemn those who came to the assistance of the Government when they had no idea of producers-cum-consumers societies and helped them in procuring and distributing foodstuffs? Is it fair to attack a movement which has done so much good to the poor people? Those who lived in the City in 1942 know what great part the Triplicane Co-operative Society played in relieving the situation created by the evacuation of the City. We all owe a debt of gratitude to those co-operative societies which have stood by us in times of stress and strain. But these producers-cum-consumers co-operative societies have been brought into existence only recently. And whether they should be given such preference and whether they justify their existence by their conduct as to wipe off the existing institutions altogether is a moot question. For, wherever producers-cum-consumers societies have come into existence, the existing co-operative societies are not able to function, either they have to merge in the producer-cum-consumer societies or to commit suicide. Is it fair to treat institutions that have been brought up by non-official co-operators at great

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sacrifice and inconvenience in that manner? Evidently the Premier was not aware at all, was not in touch with the co-operative movement as to know what it has achieved in this Province. It is said, that these credit societies, have not done enough to assist the cultivator. These producers-cum-consumers societies are only societies of producers and consumers, doing only procuring and distributing business. They are not functioning as credit societies at all and still the villager has to rely on the village credit society for his credit needs. It is a curious thing, Madam, the Premier says, "Hon. Members must however remember that even large profits, if made by these broadbased societies with membership running even in the initial stage to seven thousand to eight thousand in some societies." It makes all co-operators stand aghast. We can never think of seven or eight thousand members in a co-operative society." The fundamental principles of co-operation are mutual knowledge and mutual trust. How can there be that mutual knowledge and mutual trust when societies consist of 7,000 to 8,000 members? It is not co-operation. Make them joint stock societies. (Mr. Uppi Sahib : They are joint stock societies.) Why do you call this co-operation? It is going against the fundamentals of co-operation. Any text-book on co-operation will tell you that producer-cum-consumer co-operative society is no co-operative society at all. It is—I will go to the length of saying—prostituting the name of co-operation for the purpose of boosting up a new type of organization. It is unfair to co-operators all over the world, to the International Co-operative Alliance to call this kind of seven thousand to eight thousand membership societies as co-operatives. It is unthinkable. In fact, even in the Triplicane Co-operative Society various measures are devised to see that there is proper mutual knowledge and mutual trust between members by grouping them instead of dividing. I do not know wherefrom this idea of co-operation the Premier got. I must say, with due deference, having been a co-operator, being in charge of Co-operative Journal, which I am editing on behalf of the Provincial Co-operative Union and of which the Hon. Minister for Agriculture is the Chairman,—I am sure even he must now have found out—this is not co-operation. In order to boost up the producers-cum-consumers societies why bring in the poor credit movement and damn it—I will not say—with faint praise. I take strong objection to this on behalf of the co-operators of this presidency. Perhaps the hon. Minister knows there are many co-operators in this House, who feel as strongly in this matter as myself and feel a slur has been cast on the co-operative movement. If the Premier feels that the co-operative movement has failed, let him wind up all the societies in the province, let him remove the present Registrar and appoint Mr. Kapur in his place and let him be made the Registrar and producers-cum-consumers societies. Moreover, I am one of those who feel there is a tug of war all over the world between co-operators as to the advisability of starting organizations wherein producers and consumers are joined together in one organization. Opinion is divided on this. Some feel the interests of producers will clash with those

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of the consumers and *vice versa*. But I am not one of those who is personally against the combination of the interests of the producers and consumers, because while I am producer of one thing I may be consumer of another thing. It should be possible to reconcile the interests of both the consumers and the producers. By all means convert the existing societies for that purpose. What prevents you from doing it? Is it difficult to change the by-laws to make them fit in the existing societies to meet the existing needs? Have you tried that and failed? I feel by what has happened, by boosting up these societies, the existing organizations are made to die a natural death. (Mr. Uppi Sahib : An unnatural death). They don't deserve that death; they don't deserve that treatment. I am surprised, Hon. Mr. Giri, who is in charge of co-operation, should have been a party to this murder of the existing societies. If they are to be converted into multi-purpose societies there is provision for that. Even the existing by-laws of ordinary societies permit co-operative societies to supply the needs of the consumers for example, to gather the produce and market it, to buy seeds and distribute them to the members, to buy manure and distribute it to the members, in fact to do every function that is supposed to be performed by these producers-cum-consumers societies. These can be performed by the existing societies themselves. If necessary, you can convert them into what we call multi-purpose societies.

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" Madam, I was a member of a committee which dealt with co-operation in a particular backward tract of my district in Rayalaseema. We examined the question in the same way as the Hon. the Prime Minister has done. We have suggested that every society in that area must be converted into a multi-purpose society. Why did not the Government do it? It is difficult to organize a new society but it is easier to transform an existing society to serve the purpose we have in view. We have suggested the following functions for them: financing business, sales to members of consumer goods such as salt, condiments, sugar, cloth and the like as well as food grains. We have suggested the supply to members of raw materials for manufacture and even yarn can be supplied. Yarn can be purchased by these societies and distributed among the weaver members of the society. Storage of members' agricultural produce, and assisting or acting as agents of financing institutions, even institutions which provide long term mortgage loans, all these things have been suggested by us.

" Another fact which the Hon. the Prime Minister has lost sight of is that most of these co-operative credit societies, i.e., village primary societies are organized on what we call an unlimited liability basis. Societies organized on an unlimited liability basis are not permitted to venture into schemes which may involve them in loss. Sir, I have in my hands a note written by the Registrar on the working of the stores movement in this Presidency. It is a public document because it has come to me for publication. He says: " Village co-operative credit societies have been permitted to undertake procurement only for local consumption and

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being based on unlimited liability they are allowed to invest money in such business to the extent of their paid-up share capital *plus* reserve fund." Any business man will appreciate the reason why the Registrar did not want these credit societies to venture in trade which may involve them in loss. To the extent of their paid-up share capital and reserve fund they are allowed to invest money for the purpose of procurement. If they borrow and invest the money for the purpose of procurement they cannot afford to risk. By all means make the unlimited liability societies multi-purpose societies as we have suggested in our report and ask them to take to this procurement work as well as distribution work. If it is the idea that there should be one institution for all purposes and that there should not be separate institutions to meet the separate needs of either consumer or producer or both, let them convert all the existing societies into multi-purpose societies. Madam, I think I have exhausted all the points on which I wanted to speak. I shall now only refer to a few facts in the Budget.

"The Hon. the Premier in his budget speech announced

(At this stage the Hon. President took the Chair.)

MR. PRESIDENT :—"I did not expect you to be continuing."

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—"I am sorry, Sir. Though I appreciate the remark, I am sorry."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"I thought you would have given a chance to the acting President to call some other hon. Member to speak."

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—"I am sorry, Sir, if I was not chivalrous.

"The Hon. the Premier in presenting the Budget has stated that we have closed with a surplus of Rs. 57,000 and this was also announced by the All-India radio. Sir, how have we got this Rs. 57,000. We have taken from the reserves and announced that we have a surplus. We have taken Rs. 1.40 crores from the Revenue Reserve Fund piled up for years and then we close with a balance of Rs. 57,000. Sir, it is better we face facts as they are and say that we have a deficit budget. Often a deficit budget enlists the sympathy of the public when especially we have schemes for the amelioration of the common man.

"I must refer to one fact, Sir, which I have already mentioned and that is the abandoning of the scheme for supply of mid-day meals to the children in schools. There is another fact which affects the villager very much and that is the winding up of the rural water-supply fund. Sir, the Finance Secretary in his memorandum says that they have decided not to make further allotments to this fund and the remaining amount of Rs. 23.9 lakhs is being appropriated this year for rural water-supply. Sir, if I remember right, this fund for rural water-supply came into existence in 1938-39. It was created with a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs in that year. Now it

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ceases to exist when we appropriate the balance to the credit of that fund. I do not know why the Hon. the Prime Minister thought of retrenchment in rural water-supply. If there is a fund, Sir, for this purpose like the Harijan Uplift Fund or the Village Development Fund we can go on making contributions from the current revenues and utilize them as the schemes mature for being carried out from these funds. The balance will remain there, will accumulate there and will be always available for meeting any unforeseen expenditure. I do not know why the Hon. the Prime Minister did this. Whatever I might say, I know, he is a friend of the poor. I do not know why he has deprived this rural water-supply fund of its annual contribution. So, Sir, whatever ameliorative schemes the Budget may contain I feel it is a bad budget, because it hits the poor man. It removes from his purview schemes which ought to be there, such as feeding the school children, promotion of elementary education and the contribution to the fund for the development of rural water-supply.

"Sir, there is one good feature which I find, in regard to expenditure on what may be called 'capital outlay' for over Rs. 5 lakhs. They have all been debited to capital account and not to the revenues. That is a good feature of this Budget. It was the practice in the olden days for many years that even any amount spent for an irrigation work sometimes was being debited to current revenues. Now this new practice has been set up. I do not know why Rs. 5 lakhs has been placed as the limit. I would say that all capital expenditure, not of a recurring nature, may all be put under the capital account and financed out of loans or such other means by which Government raise funds.

"I have nothing more to say, Sir, except to request the Government—I might have used somewhat strong language in regard to certain matters—to ponder over deeply the points that I have raised. We have nothing against the khadi movement, as I said; we have nothing even against the producer-cum-consumer societies. But they are unfortunately proving themselves a fifth wheel in the coach and let not their new-found love for these producer-cum-consumer societies make the Government blind to the achievement of the co-operatives which have been in existence in this Presidency and fail to assist them to realise the object for which they have been brought into existence. I thank you, Sir, for the indulgence shown."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"I think you must thank the acting President."

* SRI M. NARAYANA MENON :—"Mr. President, I congratulate not formally, but with conviction, the Hon. the Premier for his budget. I cannot agree with some of the hon. Members who say that it is a budget which does not support the poor. Sir, the Hon. the Premier is really the friend of the poor as has been pointed out by another hon. Member of this House he has given ample provision to support them. But as regards some other matters I am unable to see eye to eye with the Hon. the Prime Minister especially with regard to certain policies.

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I shall first refer to the textile policy of the Government and point out in what form it should be modified. I do not say that I am in complete disagreement with it, but some modification, according to me, is necessary. I perfectly agree that the knadi scheme and the village development scheme are for the good of the people, but Sir, I cannot understand why textile mills should not be encouraged to the extent they deserve. My chief objection to the present policy of the Government is that it is not consistent with the modern scientific development. We must see that we live according to science and our ways are moulded and improved by science. If we simply follow our forefathers in everything we may not improve or move forward. With regard to food and cloth it seems to me that as far as possible the least amount of human labour need be spent upon them. Man is not meant only for making cloth and eating food and sleeping for the rest of his time. He must have sufficient leisure for thinking and understanding and developing himself and doing many other things. If atomic energy is harnessed to industries, then all the cloth that we require for a year may be produced in a month or two. More food can be produced from the land if we apply the scientific inventions of the day. At the same time, I may say that in the villages where these scientific inventions will not be available amply and easily, the people may get on by carrying on some village industries. And I am glad to say that ample provision has been made in the budget for the development of cottage or village industries. I request the Government to modify their textile policy by allowing the existing mills to develop and also increasing their number. Then instead of 5 yards of mill cloth a year for a person he can have more. Some of us here have really more than 7 or 8 yards of cloth on us, but how can we get on with 5 yards a year. Mill cloth is cheap and the khadder or handloom cloth is very costly. In order that even middle-class people with low incomes may live in comfort as far as possible these essentials of life—food and cloth—must be made easily and cheaply available to them and all our efforts must be directed towards that end and not towards anything else which will mar or bar the future prospect simple but comfortable of life.

"I suggest, Sir, that the Government should start at least one textile mill. When the policy of the Government is not to encourage mills, if I say that the Government should start a mill, I do so with a purpose. If the Government start a mill, they can understand in what manner the employer and employee should behave towards each other. There have been several labour strikes in Coimbatore and other places. The Prime Minister has intervened and other Ministers also have intervened and settled those disputes by arriving at some sort of compromise. But in the course of a month or two, the strikes break out again. But if Government start a mill, they can experiment in their own institution, find out what should be the proper relation between the employer and the employee, how much should be paid to the employee and

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how much should be taken by the employer and so on. It will also improve the supply of yarn and cloth. By resorting to this method at this juncture, this Government may be able to do something with regard to the nationalization of industries. In some of the speeches I read in the papers—I do not know whether they have been correctly reported or not—the nationalization of industry was put forward as a threat to the mill-owners. But I say to the Government, let the mill-owners continue as before, and you start industries which have not been started already by other persons. New industries, any number of them can be started. Then also this problem of employer and employee can be solved. That is the real nationalization of industry. For instance, you can start a cement industry. Applications have been called for and you have recommended some. If really nationalization of industry is your idea, why not you start a new cement factory. In course of time when it is found that the industries started by Government flourish, the other industrialists may even surrender their industries to the Government, saying: 'Of course you are doing much better than we. You go on and we shall depart.' That will be a sort of solution for the nationalization of industries.

" Sir, one other subject to which I want to refer is the producer-cum-co-operative societies. I may at once submit that this idea is good for the present and that it will work well now when there is shortage of paddy and other grains and when it is necessary to procure them from other places also. I am not really for entrusting the ordinary traders with the distribution of what is procured, from other places. It will work to the detriment of the people as it did in 1942-43 when the mill-owners were purchasing paddy and rice in Palghat and distributing them to the people. Before my eyes, I saw several people die of starvation, but the deaths were attributed to cholera. But as soon as proper distribution was arranged, it was found that cholera stopped and people did not die as before and in the course of 15 days normal health was restored in Palghat. I may say that it was more possible by introduction of rationing and commandeering and distribution through the agency of co-operative stores. With the advent of the producer-cum-co-operative societies in 1946, we see that procurement has been easy. But as regards distribution by these societies how far it will result in the well-being of the people, is now a matter of conjecture. Although these societies are the distributors, the actual distributor is not the president or the secretary or a director but persons employed by these societies on wages of Rs. 30 and Rs. 40 a month. How far these employees will behave properly is yet to be seen. Whether these societies will be able to stop black-market altogether cannot be predicted now. All that is now a matter of experiment the result of which can be ascertained only by the end of the year. If the thing is regularly worked and, if proper reports are received and materials collected we will be able to judge how far it has been successful. I do not want to be a prophet in regard to this matter. Let us wait and

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see, whether it is possible for these societies to be permanent. For the present they can exist. But when control ceases and large quantities of paddy and rice and other grains are available what will be the function of these societies? As regards ordinary traders, competition between them will result in advantage to the consumers. But how can these societies work to the advantage of the consumers at that time? What these societies can procure now, the traders can procure later on. On account of competition, the producers will get better price. But in the case of these co-operative societies, the prices will be fixed, it may be sometimes low and sometimes high, but it is likely one price may be fixed for the whole year. The producers selling to those societies cannot get anything more than that fixed price. That is one point which throws doubt on the permanence of these societies.

“ The second point is whether how far the black-market will stop under the influence of these societies. I think we are blaming the traders to a large extent without going into the real cause of black-market. According to me, it is not the trader or the distributor who is the source of this cause. It is the competition between the consumers that is the real cause. When there are only a few things for sale and when there are 100 persons to purchase them, there is competition between the consumers and owing to that competition, there is an inducement on the part of the trader to part with it for a price much higher than that for which he would otherwise sell it. Again, the reason for this competition is the shortage of supply. This competition will stop only if the supply is greater than the demand. It will not stop otherwise.

“ As regards price, you may compel a trader to sell at a certain price, you may post a policeman before the shop to watch him. But in that case, he will not sell the thing to any man who goes there but to persons of his own choice and even there you see there is some blackness in the trade. Therefore unless you produce large quantities of paddy and rice and everything else you cannot stop this black-market. I do not think that the producer-consumer co-operative societies will be able to stop it at all.

“ I put a question : what is to become of these co-operative societies after some time? I suggest, Sir, that they may start some industry with the aid of their share money and accumulated profits. They have now their separate dictions—three or four villages—and each of these societies may be asked to start an industry suitable to the locality. Instead of giving them the privilege of getting every article in their hands and depriving the ordinary trader of his means of livelihood, you can make use of them in this way after the control ceases only then they will become useful to the country.

“ Sir, a few words with regard to education. The question of the regional language has been referred to and as a substitute for the regional language, the mother tongue has been mentioned. Whether it is mother tongue or regional language, finally it will

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come to the same thing, regional language. The system of imparting instruction through the mother tongue is no doubt very important. If instruction is to be imparted in the mother tongue, the result will be this. You must have, say at Madras, elementary schools, high schools and colleges for the Malayalam-speaking people, for the Telugu-speaking people, for the Kanarese-speaking people and so on. We have also heard the clamour from Muslims for instruction through the medium of Urdu. Thus, the Government will be compelled to open a large number of institutions for the various languages in almost all the places and that will be really difficult. The system of imparting instruction through regional languages should be introduced in the whole Province, but as a matter of exception in selected towns like Madras, Trichinopoly, Madura, etc., where there are so many Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese-speaking people, it should be possible to have some separate institutions for the lower standards and forms. The insistence of imparting education through the regional language must be adhered to generally throughout the Presidency.

“ But, Sir, we have to consider other consequential aspects. We are on the point of division or partition. The Malayalees want a Kerala Province, the Tamils, Tamil Province and the Andhras, an Andhra Province. We have to divide on a linguistic basis, i.e., on the regional language basis. If we are going to divide on the regional language basis and if we are to continue until division on the regional language basis, my suggestion is that we must make ourselves ready and have all the necessary requirements even now. What are the requirements? The requirements are that all the subjects should be taught in the regional language in all the institutions in the respective regions. For instance, in the Tamil and Telugu districts, you must have a number of educational institutions including colleges in which all the subjects must be taught in Tamil and Telugu respectively. So also in 4 p.m. Malabar there must be sufficient number of such institutions. Sir, I may be asked: what is the meaning of claiming so many institutions and colleges for a single district, Malabar, though it may constitute a linguistic province. Unless Arts colleges, an Engineering College, a Medical College, an Agricultural College and other technical colleges are established for Malabar how can the Malayalees receive education in the Malayalam language. Considering the comparatively small extent of the Kerala Province the position may be considered difficult, though it may not be such a difficult proposition with regard to Tamil and Telugu districts. People in Malabar would certainly like to be taught in their own language. If the Government adheres to the regional language system, sufficient money must be found to establish colleges of various types in Malabar. Even now the work should be commenced. I do not ask for the opening of such colleges all at once but one by one every year so that Malabar may have the necessary well-equipped institution before the formation of separate provinces is a settled fact.

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" Another point I want to bring to the notice of Government, is the desirability of having text-books in the regional languages. While the teachers and professors in the schools and colleges may teach in the regional languages, the students must have text-books in the said languages for study at home. What have you done in the course of the ten months towards that end, though you are sticking on to the regional language policy now and for the future? We have not the proper and necessary text-books in these languages. In the Osmania University in Hyderabad, I am told that practically all the good text-books have been translated into Urdu from various languages. A number of text-books come from England and other countries, where scientific studies have been developed considerably but all of them are translated in Urdu. Even then there is a complaint that the suitable books are not available. In this Presidency, you must have an independent department to commence translation or production of the necessary text-books in sciences in the four regional languages. Unless this is done, the regional language system will break down.

" Another thing of importance is with regard to technical and scientific terms. Technical terms will be varying in Malayalam, Kanarese, Tamil and Telugu and that will lead to considerable confusion and inconvenience. A common dictionary of scientific terms should be prepared not only for this Presidency but also for the whole of India. If you have a united India and visualize it as a whole entity now or in future with one Central Government, you must have the same scientific terms in all the regional languages in order to assure uniform scientific development in the whole of India. I understand that a committee is engaged in the preparation of the technical terms for the languages in this Presidency. I had a talk with some members. Their complaint is that if a technical term has a Sanskrit origin, objection is raised, and demand is made for a word with a purely Tamil root for the Tamil language. Unfortunately such words will not always be available. Such conflicts are now going on. (K. T. M. Ahmed Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur : 'Then have English.') That has been the bane of us. When we quarrel, we go to a stranger. In Hindi or Urdu we have very many Sanskrit words. Bring Arabic terms, if you please, we will have them. Instead of that, we should not say : I want everything in Tamil or Telugu or Malayalam ; I will ignore Sanskrit. If we proceed in this way, then we will have no proper terms. We must have all the scientific terms in common. We know that the technical terms are common for all the countries in Europe, including Italy, Germany, Switzerland, etc. Whenever there is an invention, a name is given to it. The root or origin of the word is not examined for adopting it into the various languages. We can do the same thing in India also. (K. T. M. Ahmed Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur :—' Let us adopt the same procedure.') That is what I say. Don't go to the root of each word and see whether it is Tamil or Telugu in origin. Use one term, i.e., common to all the languages. In Kauthilya's Artha Sastra,

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you will find suitable terms for political science and political economy. In the Indian languages, we can find so many philosophical terms also. Scholars who have studied all the four languages and Sanskrit and Arabic should sit together and prepare a common set of terms for the whole of India. I understand that the Banga Sahitya Parishad and the Hindi Sahitya Parishad have prepared such dictionaries for their respective languages. Let us take the initiative for the preparation of a common set of technical and scientific terms for the whole of India. Now we must certainly have a common language for Indian unity. It is a controversial question. My Muslim friend may say it is Urdu. Somebody else may say it is Bengali. I don't want to displease my Muslim friends. Let us study Hindi and Urdu as a common language for the whole of India. There is not much structural difference between Hindi and Urdu; the grammar and most of the words are common. There is a sprinkling of Arabic and Persian in Urdu. There is a larger sprinkling of Sanskrit in Hindi. I may adorn myself with khaddar and another person may adorn himself with silk. After all, the human element remains the same. A language is enriched by the adoption of words from various other languages. We may borrow German and Italian words if they are suitable and give expression to our ideas correctly. What about the English language? Look at an English dictionary. So many Tamil words have crept in. Let us forget parochial patriotism and have one common language Hindi and Urdu which must be taught compulsorily in all schools, whether Tamil, Telugu or Malayalam. It must be taught compulsorily in all the schools just like English at present. It is an absolute necessity to establish and maintain unity in future.

"At the same time, let me not be understood as discarding English. At present that is the source of all modern knowledge and civilization for us. Though we have suffered much on account of English men, we have gained much on account of the English language. So English also must be one of the languages, compulsorily taught in our schools. Again for Telugu, Sanskrit words are necessary. For Malayalam Sanskrit words are necessary. In Tamil, Sanskrit words are utilized though mutilated to a certain extent. Kanarese wants Sanskrit words. I therefore say that in this Presidency Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam-speaking people must be taught basic Sanskrit, i.e., Sanskrit in the simplest form may be taught in all the schools in addition to the regional language. It may sound very odd when I tell you that each one should study Hindi, Urdu, English, the regional language and basic Sanskrit. But in a country like this which is inhabited by a large number of people speaking different languages, a little bit of effort on the part of our children is necessary to make us good citizens and to make us feel that hereafter we are all one. Therefore I say the curricula of studies in the schools and colleges must be so revised as to achieve their practical result.

"When I started from Malabar, the people knew that the budget session was coming. So many persons came or wrote to

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me asking me to press for this thing and that thing. I tabulated them and found that they in fact wanted all things. Because of 150 years of neglect, we are not having enough of anything. So we have to ask this Government for everything. The Government will be embarrassed if all of us make all sorts of demands. So, I will confine myself to Malabar, as one representing that constituency, and ask for only a few things at present.

" When the Minister for Education visited Palghat, we presented a memorial asking him to introduce various courses of study in the college. He did not appear to be generous. I understand that there are more than a thousand students in the Government Victoria College. From an elementary school, it has developed into a college. The old elementary school building is still there, and buildings were added and added. The college buildings now look like a military camp. That is the sort of college we have at Palghat where more than a thousand students study.

" The university authorities, I am sure, will not recommend 4-15
any more students for admission in the college because there is not p.m.
sufficient space. They may be right. But who is affected? Poor students are affected. That will be the effect. All the verandas have been closed up to make class rooms. Our Chancellor has recently gone there for inspection. He must have seen them. There is no exaggeration in what I say. Therefore I request the Government to allot sufficient funds for the building of the college and to satisfy the university authorities and satisfy also the Malabar people who are very eager to educate their children. A number of students from Malabar are going to various places and returning without getting any seats. That is one aspect of the matter with regard to that college.

" All the courses of study may be introduced if a proper building is given to that college, because that college, I know, will be self-supporting. Even if it be not self-supporting, I may tell you that it will meet more than 80 per cent of the cost.

" Similarly, the Tellicherry college also must have been visited by the University Commission and I am sure that the need felt by the people must have been impressed upon the University Commission.

" There is a hostel attached to the Victoria College but it cannot accommodate all the students. A hostel was opened for girls with great difficulty. No suitable building is available for it also. When I am making all these demands upon the Government, I really feel that it will be embarrassing to the Government. But now, Sir, when we are making a start with regard to the practical development of the country with the consciousness that we are free several demands will come one upon another to the embarrassment of the Government. The Government must be prepared to meet them somehow or other.

" One word with regard to irrigation. Of course something towards that is being done in Malabar. Hon. Ministers have visited

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the district and they must have sent their reports to the Government that it is a matter of necessity. I know the plans and accounts of estimates are being prepared then. But we do not see the end of them. That is the trouble. Our difficulty is that the Government have only a small amount of money in reserve. If the money is spent on various other schemes then there may not be anything left for Malabar irrigation. The district of Malabar has been suffering for the last 150 years. We have been clamouring for irrigation for several years. But nobody has done anything for us. In 1937, Mr. Prakasam, Hon. the Prime Minister now, was good enough to visit the district and he gave us hopes that very soon something will be done for Malabar. Unfortunately that Government resigned; but it has now come back. Hon. Mr. Prakasam has become Prime Minister. Let something be done this year with regard to the Malampuzha Project. Investigation may be going on. Let it be started this year so that it may be completed at least in the course of four or five years. In the other taluks also there are some irrigation sources not yet investigated. Some attempts may be made to investigate them and sufficient money may be provided to have sufficient staff for this purpose.

“One other matter I have to refer to. It is with regard to the raising of new taxes. New taxes may have to be raised if circumstances demand it. But with regard to the agricultural income-tax there is a cry in Malabar that it is not suitable to that district in any event. The reason is that the lands there do not yield as much as the lands in Nellore, Trichinopoly, Tanjore or other places. The Malabar lands are poor. The chief reason is whatever we put into the soil by way of manure, is washed away by rains. Rains are not always reliable as they come in torrents sometimes and the whole of it goes straight to the sea. We are not in a position to retain sufficient quantity of water for our irrigation purposes. That is the real difficulty. We lose our manure. We are not getting much yield. We pay heavy land-tax. There are no irrigation facilities. Amount ranging from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 and sometimes a little more is the tax for an acre in Malabar. It may not appear to be very much, but for Malabar conditions it is really a very heavy tax. Why do you want to impose agricultural income-tax? There are technical difficulties, so far as the agricultural income-tax is concerned. In all places people have a grievance against this tax. There are complaints from all people. Therefore I say that the agricultural income-tax need not be imposed. All the other possible sources of revenue may be tapped; if they are found insufficient then only this agricultural income-tax—which is not wanted and which is not liked—may be imposed.

“With regard to other matters I need not say much because very many of my hon. friends have referred to them. I once more thank the Hon. the Prime Minister for the useful budget he has framed.”

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* SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM :—“ Sir, I congratulate the Hon. Prime Minister for having introduced his second popular budget in this House. I call it a popular budget not only because a popular Government like the Congress Government has introduced the Budget but also because the Budget really deals with and provides for popular subjects in which the masses are interested. The first Budget that the Hon. Prime Minister introduced last year struck a definite note in introducing schemes like the Khadi scheme, the Harijan Scheme and Village Reconstruction Scheme, Cottage Industries, Prohibition, etc. This year the Hon. Prime Minister has not only improved the old schemes but also introduced other schemes like the introduction of new machinery for the procurement and distribution of foodgrains in the shape of Producer-cum-Consumer Co-operative Societies. You are all aware, Sir, that our Province under the leadership of the Hon. Premier, Mr. Prakasam, has claimed to be the first Province in the whole country to have followed the Congress programme in letter and spirit.

“ I have heard it said that Mr. Prakasam's Ministry is becoming unpopular for having introduced new schemes and new methods like the Producer-cum-Consumer Co-operative Societies and also the Textile policy. I make bold to tell you that the Ministry has indeed become more popular with the masses for the very reasons that it is said it has become unpopular. Perhaps the Ministry has become unpopular with vested interests and those who are interested in them who have been affected by the new schemes introduced by the Hon. Premier. It is not enough if a few of us say within the walls of this House that the Ministry has become unpopular. The real test is for you to go into the country and feel the pulse of the people and then say who has become unpopular, whether it is Mr. Prakasam and his Ministry or others that decry it.

“ I come from the East Godavari district and I am proud to say that my District stands first in the matter of starting the Producer-cum-Consumer Co-operative Societies. Fifty-one societies have been registered with a share capital of Rs. 42 lakhs. I may also state that I have also been intimately connected with the societies and have done my little bit in encouraging the starting of those societies. Though in the beginning owing to the propaganda made by some interested persons the starting of the societies was a bit slow and difficult as people began to understand the real benefits of the starting of such societies they easily took to them and began to subscribe to the best of their ability. There is no gainsaying the fact that by the introduction of these societies the middlemen are easily eliminated and people who manage the societies will get trained in the art of administration and business and they get all the profits for themselves which were being taken away by a few individuals previously. Perhaps there may be some shortcomings in the formation of these societies and there are bound to be some more shortcomings in the working of these societies in the initial stages but that cannot shut our eyes to the benefits that accrue by the formation and the proper working of these societies.

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“ The Textile Policy of the Government has been the subject of criticism not only from vested interests but unfortunately from some amongst Congressmen themselves. We who have been votaries of the Congress and we who have been swearing by Khadi all these years under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi cannot do anything but congratulate the Hon. Premier for the courage of his conviction and the stoutness of his heart in having adopted this Textile policy in spite of so much opposition from all quarters. It is the strength of the cause that the Hon. Premier upholds that wins and not the strength of numbers on the opposite side. Yesterday the Hon. Premier was telling us some facts about the Punjab Province where hand-spun and hand-woven cloth is 75 per cent of the cloth used in that Province. All doubting Thomases who are afraid that the Khadi scheme does not succeed in this Province can very well take a lesson from the Punjab Province and shake off their doubts if doubts they still entertain. The Khadi scheme and its corollary and the Textile policy of the Government are intended to benefit and provide clothing to every man in the street without induly enriching the capitalist mill-owners. If the scheme is faithfully and earnestly worked, certainly there cannot be cloth scarcity in this Province at all. During all these 25 years we as Congressmen have been preaching and popularizing khadder. Now that the Congress has come into power, is it not its duty not only to itself but also to the people it represents that it should reduce into action what it has been simply preaching before. With all the resources and the machinery of the Government at our disposal we ought honestly and sincerely to encourage the production of khadder in addition to the mill cloth that is produced by the existing mills so as to provide clothing for all.

“ I beg to state a few points pertaining to my own district. The Central Delta comprising the two Revenue taluks of Amalapuram and Razole is surrounded on all sides by the branches of the river Godavari and on the fourth side by the Bay of Bengal. So the Central Delta in which myself and my other two colleagues representing East Godavari live is cut off from the mainland altogether and the Hon. Premier knows also full well that we are living in a nook-short isle called the Central Delta. The rivers are unbridged and it is not possible for vehicular communication to reach the Central Delta from the mainland.

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“ For nearly four months in the year from June to October, when the river is in floods, outside communication of whatever kind is impossible. For a number of years we have been agitating for the construction of a bridge at Alamuru or Kotipally so as to connect the main land with the Central Delta. Sometime prior to war the proposal for the construction of a bridge at Alamuru was made and we were told that it was approved by the Central Government as well as by this Government. But owing to the War the whole matter was shelved. Sir, now that the War is over, may I request the Government that the work may be taken up as early as possible and see that the Central Delta is connected with the outside world.

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" In the whole of the Northern Circars the Central Delta is the chief coconut growing centre. Nearly 50,000 acres are covered by coconut topes and the staple crop is coconut besides the paddy crop and the chief source of income of the ryots is coconut. Coconut is being exported to other districts and also to other Provinces. The coconut grown in the Central Delta is used for edible purposes and not for crushing oil. The recent restriction on the movement of coconut in all shapes, that is, dry coconuts, wet coconuts and copra has caused great hardship and inconvenience not only to the merchants that buy and export coconut but also to the ryots who grow coconuts in thousands and even lakhs. I may submit, Sir, that the conditions prevailing in Malabar and which necessitated the Government to put restriction of the movement of coconuts in those parts are not the same in East and West Godavari districts where coconut is grown and used for edible purposes. I therefore request that the Government will please see its way to abolish the restriction of movement of coconut in our part of the Province.

" As I have said, a vast extent of land in the Central Delta is covered by coconut gardens for a very long time. My hon. Friend Mr. Veeraswami and ourselves have been agitating for an agricultural farm to be located in the Central Delta particularly with a view to make research in coconut. I request that the Government may be pleased to locate an agricultural farm in that area.

" Sir, the topography of Razole taluk is very peculiar. Razole taluk extends from Bobbarlanka down to Antervedi covering a distance of about 60 miles. Kothapeta is the headquarters of the Deputy Tahsildar with no sub-treasury. Revenue collections made in these far off villages in the Kothapeta division have to be carried a long way off to the Razole Sub-treasury covering a distance from 13 to 14 miles. There was a proposal during the previous Congress Ministry that Kothapeta is to be made an independent division with a sub-treasury. Even recently I made a submission to the Government to expedite the formation of the Kothapeta as an independent division with a sub-treasury. I request, Sir, in the interests of the people in that locality the Government may be pleased to examine this question and make Kothapeta an independent division as early as possible.

" Amalapuram is the headquarters of the division comprising Amalapuram and Razole taluks. The hospital at Amalapuram is most ill-equipped and ill-provided for. A pucca hospital with full equipment should be constructed to serve the needs of the people of the division. As I have already stated the Central Delta is cut off from the main land and it is not easy and possible for poor people to go to the headquarters hospital at Cocanada or even Rajahmundry during the seasons. Therefore it is absolutely essential that Amalapuram should contain a pucca hospital well provided for and with maternity wards sufficient to meet the needs of the people.

" Last but not least, I have to make one important suggestion, Sir. I have been complaining about the monkey trouble in our area from Mukkamala to Bobbarlanka. The mischief done by the monkeys is immense. Food-crops such as plantains, vegetables and

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other fruits are being spoiled by the monkeys. When the Hon. Minister for Food visited our parts, I showed him what mischief the monkeys were capable of. Everybody knows what great havoc the Mukkamala monkeys can do. The only remedy Sir, is to extern all mischievous monkeys as early as possible either to Agencies or to unknown places."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" May I know how many hon. Members are prepared to speak to-day so that we may decide whether we can continue the session or adjourn now? "

* MR. K. O. ANTHONI :—" May I know how long are we going to sit to-day? "

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I suppose we can close at 5 o'clock, if there are no more members to speak. But if there are any members who desire to speak to-day, we shall just now adjourn for a few minutes for tea and shall meet again. I think it is better we shall finish as many members as possible from the list of those who have given their names to speak. Members who postpone speaking to-day may be taking some risk later on as we have only two days more left."

* MR. K. O. ANTHONI :—" If we are rising at 5 o'clock, then I don't think I can finish my speech by that time."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" What time are you likely to take to finish your speech? "

* MR. K. O. ANTHONI :—" About an hour, Sir."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I think you had better go on. If you want to have some tea in the meanwhile, I have no objection for your going just now."

K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Why not we continue till 5-30 p.m. and then adjourn for the day? "

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I have no objection, but some members wanted to have some tea. Now I request that such of those hon. members as want to take tea may now go and return. Mr. Anthony will please continue his speech."

* MR. K. O. ANTHONI :—" Mr. President, Sir, when there is a dearth of speakers on the Budget, I have come to step into the breach. Sir, there was a certain amount of reluctance on the part of some hon. Members of this House which I was noticing yesterday and the day before, to speak on the Budget. (A voice : " The budget discussions began only yesterday. "). But as Dr. John has remarked, there was a kind of artificial atmosphere in the budget discussions this year. I do not want to dilate upon it, especially after the Hon. Premier's statement last evening while discussing the Maintenance of Public Order Bill.

" Sir, last year I congratulated the Hon. the Premier on his inexhaustible patience. This year I must congratulate him on his ' incurable optimism.' (Laughter). I am yet to see another man who is as optimistic as the Hon. Mr. T. Prakasam. Nothing seems

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to upset him in this world (Laughter). And I wish I had the capacity of the Hon. Premier to sleep with all his worries (interruption); unless he sleeps so well, he cannot do so much work as he is doing. Anyhow, Sir, I am glad at least in that respect I could congratulate the Hon. Premier. I cannot congratulate him on this Budget, but I think he certainly deserves our congratulations—and sometimes our sympathies too—for the manner in which he is standing the strain and also, as I said, on the great optimism that he is bringing to bear on his task.

“ Now, Sir, it seems to me that this Budget is more or less the index of the uncertain position in which the Ministry found itself during the past few months. In this connexion I must draw the attention of the House to the Budget that was presented in the Central Assembly by the Hon. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan the other day. There was a definite objective and a definite social policy in that Budget which we very sadly miss in this Budget. What is it that this Ministry is aiming at? What is the social policy that they are going to work out? We do not have any indication of that policy in this Budget.

“ Well, Sir, before making my remarks on the Budget proper, I should like to say a few words about the community that I represent, its position in the body politic of India and the treatment that that community is receiving from the powers-that-be. Sir, I am a representative of the Indian Christian Community in this Province. The Indian Christian Community numbers just under 10 millions in this country and over 2 millions in this Province. In our country we are—I hope my Muslim friends would not object to my saying this—the third largest community. (K. T. M. Ahmad Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur: ‘ Why should we object, Sir? ’) Because the Muslims have been claiming to be a Nation. Not even the worst critic of any community can deny that the Indian Christians have done invaluable service in this land of ours, by way of spreading education, carrying on social services of various kinds, looking after the weak and the infirm, the old and the decrepitude, the uncared for orphans, the deaf, the dumb and the blind and other physically defective sections of people. Now, as regards the contribution this community has made towards the national movement, the Hon. Dr. John Mathai, Member for Transport in the Interim Government, presiding over the 21st Annual Conference of the All-India Christian Conference in Bombay on the 27th January remarked that the accusation that the Indian Christians have not taken their due share in national service was not justifiable. I shall also quote the nationalist organ, the ‘ Hindustan Standard ’ of Calcutta. That paper in its issue, dated 27th January 1947 says—‘ The Christian Community in India has all along shown commendable spirit of nationalism. It has not clamoured for any special privileges, but stood shoulder to shoulder with other communities in their common effort to achieve the national destiny. The fear of being swamped by the majority has never haunted it.’ The Presidential address of Dr. John Mathai delivered in Bombay at the Conference of the All-India Christian Association also embodies the same spirit. The President advised

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the Christian community to heal the wounds and to soften the asperities in the body politic of the country. By their attitude and activities, the Indian Christian Community has undoubtedly qualified itself for this task. They ought to serve as an example to the other minority communities in the country.

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" That is the tribute, Sir, paid to the Indian Christian community by a nationalist organ of Calcutta. Sir, as remarked by Dr. Mathai, the community claims no special privileges and asked for no special favours. All that they demand is that whatever changes occur in the location or organization of political power in India, there should be no attempt by those in authority to differentiate against them and invade their fundamental rights as citizens.

" Again, Sir, we, as a nation, are believers in Almighty God. Those who believe otherwise are a microscopic minority in our country. When that all-important resolution on the objectives of the Indian constitution was being discussed in the Constituent Assembly, I say with some pride that it was only a representative of my community, Rev. Father Jerome D'Souza, who expressed the desire that some mention should be made in the resolution that all authority was derived from Almighty God. The best minds of my community feel, Sir, that we have got a duty, a mission to perform in this country. The first duty, as referred to by Dr. Mathai, is of healing the wounds and softening the asperities that exist in the body politic. The second is to work for the removal of the appalling want from which the great majority of our countrymen suffer. As for the first task, in this unfortunate country of ours which is witnessing communal strife on a widespread scale, the Christian community has got a great duty to perform. To us, the best minds of the community feel, has been allotted the task of bridge-builders between the Hindus and the Muslims. I was told, Sir, that in the provinces of Bihar and the United Provinces, there is a demand in areas which are affected by communal strife for public servants belonging to my community. I shall refer in a few minutes to the treatment that we, as a community, are receiving in Madras in this respect.

" As regards opportunities to render service to society, we feel that as nationals of our country, we have as much right as any other community to render service to society. It is in these circumstances, Sir, that I feel very keenly that a community which has such a record of service, whose attitude towards nationalism is of the type that I described, has not received due consideration at the hands of the powers-that-be.

" First, I should register my protest on the floor of this House against the treatment that has been meted out to this community in the matter of selection and election of its representatives to the Constituent Assembly and other consultative bodies. Sir, for the Indian Christians, there are two organizations of an all-India character, the Catholics are represented by the all-India Catholic Union; the non-Catholic section of Indian Christians are represented by the all-India Christian conference. There is a Joint Committee of the two organizations which tackle all-India

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problems concerning the Indian Christian community. The President of this All-India Joint Committee of the two organizations who happens to be also the President of the all-India Catholic Union as well as the Catholic Indian Association of the Madras Province, was put up as a representative of the community from this Province to the Constituent Assembly; but I am sorry to say that the High Command and the Low Command joined together and saw to it that he was not elected. Sir, the Anglo-Indian community's organization has been given the privilege of nominating its representatives, or at any rate the Congress authorities consult the representative body of the Anglo-Indians on the nomination of their representative; but the Indian Christian community has not been given that right and their recommendation has simply been ignored. Sir, I pay my tribute of praise to Babu Rajendra Prasad on this occasion for having, as a result of considerable agitation on our part, nominated the President of the Joint Committee, whom I have referred to, to the Minorities Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly. Let me hope that the authorities would give due respect to the feelings of the Indian Christian community in this matter and accept the nominations they make of representatives of their community on these consultative bodies.

" Secondly, Sir, we have carried on an agitation in this province with regard to the Harijan Uplift Fund. My friend the hon. Mr. Jagannathan has complained, and I think rightly too, that the one crore of rupees that was set apart for Harijan Uplift Fund is still remaining on paper. Well, even if it was on paper, we wanted justice in connexion with that."

MR. PRESIDENT:—" I suppose it is paper money."

MR. K. O. ANTHONI:—" Well, Sir, if paper money is distributed, let it be equitably done. I saw the Hon. Premier in connexion with this; the Hon. Premier, when I asked a question on the floor of this House, said that converts to Christianity are not entitled to that fund. May I submit again to the Hon. Premier that we are not asking for any special privilege? The Congress have brought in the name ' Harijans ' to suit their own purpose. I shall reiterate our position very clearly. If this allotment is made as a mark of expiation for all the wrongs the Caste-Hindus have done to the Depressed classes for centuries, give it from the funds contributed by Caste-Hindus and not from the public exchequer; but if this allotment is made as a measure of relief for the economically weak and poor for which public funds should naturally be spent, well, let it be on the basis of poverty, the economic condition of the people, and not on the basis that because some of them belong to the Christian community or any other community, they should be excluded from it. That is the position that we have taken and it is not a question of asking for special consideration in this respect.

" Thirdly, Sir, we have made representations to the Hon. Premier on the question of Mass-wine; the mass which is the

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central act of Christian worship is a thing on which we can have no compromise. I do not want to dilate on this subject. His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Mathias, Archbishop of Madras, has sent a communication to the Hon. Premier explaining the position that obtains in some other Provinces and clearly defining the position that we have taken. Sir, we are entitled to statutory exemption for Mass-wine from the Prohibition Act; I think the Hon. Premier has been sympathetic in that respect, I do not know what has happened about that—but I hope that orders will soon be passed as desired by the Christian community. At the same time, I may be permitted to make this remark; should any obstacle be put in the way of the use of Mass-wine, the Christian community will not take it lying down.

“ Sir, I must also refer to the treatment that has been accorded to the Indian Christian community in the matter of appointments and promotions in service. As mentioned already, in the United Provinces and in Bihar, there is a demand for members of this community to hold the balance, to act as bridge-builders, whenever there is communal trouble, but here our claims are ignored. I would only appeal to the Hon. Premier not to neglect this community simply for the reason that we are not a militant set of people and that we are not raising the war-cry on every occasion, we ought not to be neglected, and our interests should not be thrown to the winds. Complaints are coming to us of ill-treatment that is being meted out to poor people belonging to this community in far-off villages. It is our hope and it is our belief that Government would give due consideration to the representations that we make in such matters.

“ Now, Sir, I will pass on to the Budget in its general aspects. Sir, last year I remarked that the Budget that had been presented to us was a deficit budget. This year again really it is a deficit budget that has been presented. Rs. 149 lakhs have been transferred from the Revenue Reserve Fund, and although new taxation to the tune of Rs. 135 lakhs—Rs. 100 lakhs from agricultural income-tax and Rs. 35 lakhs from motor-spirit tax—is expected to be realized, there is a glorious surplus of Rs. 57,000 in the Budget.

5 p.m.

“ As I remarked on the last occasion when the Budget was presented, a deficit Budget is understandable if large sums had been set apart for items which would raise the standard of life of the people or increase their taxable capacity or if there was a slump to be tided over. But, none of these factors is present in connexion with this Budget. The Revenue Reserve Fund was built up during the Advisers' regime in order to finance post-war development schemes. That money is now being appropriated for what may be called the normal purpose of carrying on the Government. This carrying on of the Government was done by the Adviser's regime with a considerably smaller amount. Now, what are the services and amenities that this Ministry are going to give to the common man to the people at large for which provision has been made in their Budget? Well, Sir, the two feathers in the

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cap of the Ministry, according to their way of thinking, are Prohibition and the Khadi policy. It is intended to extend Prohibition to eight more districts. It is stated that 452 lakhs will be the loss in revenue. What further expenditure will be incurred on the machinery for enforcing prohibition and for providing counter-attractions is not known. Now Sir, what is the result of this Prohibition? So far, Sir, we have had some statements from some officers who are responsible for working this prohibition policy. But, they are not the people to tell us that prohibition has succeeded. They are parts of the machinery; they are interested parties. Is there any independent evidence to show that prohibition has succeeded in these districts and that it has done considerable good to the people of those districts? We would have liked the Ministry to send independent people, members of the legislature, to those districts and make a report in order to convince us—as my hon. friend Mr. Purushotham said, doubting Thomases—of its success.

“ Now, Sir, four crores of rupees were set apart in the last Budget for the Khadi and Village Uplift schemes. Sixty lakhs have been spent already; 340 lakhs have been appropriated for expenditure this year. May I know, Sir, on what items these sixty lakhs have been spent. Am I wrong if I take it that all this money has been spent in survey work and in paying their staff. Has any actual work been done? I would like the Hon. Premier to enlighten me on this matter. It is stated in the detailed estimates on the khadi scheme that for seven centres containing a population of 2.70 lakhs, the total expenditure will come to over one crore of rupees. The Government expect that out of this one crore of rupees, about 95 lakhs are recoverable. Sir, recovery is problematical; but expenditure is a certainty. That means, Sir, that on one of the pet schemes of the Ministry, they are going to spend per head somewhere about Rs. 35 to Rs. 40, in a Province where the total revenue per capita is only Rs. 7-8-0. That is the result of the scheme as far as I can see.

“ Then, Sir, let us see whether the Ministry have catered to the welfare of the common man in any other way in this Budget. With regard to expenditure, again we have to complain that lump sum allotments have been made. On the last occasion we were told that though lump sum allotments were being made, when detailed schemes were prepared, we could examine them. But they have not yet been given. I am sorry to see again in this Budget several items for which lump sum allotments have been made. So, our position, as they put it in military parlance is ‘ as you were.’

“ One subject, Sir, on which remarks have already been made is education. I do not want to say much more on the subject. I think the hon. Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar will speak about it. My hon. Friend, Mr. Suryanarayana Rao has already made some remarks on this item. Sir, we are told that in 1947-48, compulsory primary education will be extended so as to bring under it another one and a half lakhs of children. Sir, it will

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be seen from the 1941 Census that the total number of children of school-going age is about seven millions. In this Province which has a population of about fifty millions, the birth-rate is about 33 per thousand. This brings in about one and a half million fresh children of school-going age whereas the Hon. the Prime Minister is making provision only for one and a half lakhs of children. Well, Sir, no further comment is required on this matter. I think the position after a few years will be that in point of literacy, we would have regressed and not progressed.

"Again, Sir, I should also join my hon. friends who have protested against the stopping of the supply of milk to the children in the schools. I would also like to mention about the meagreness of the relief given to the teachers. I have already given notice of a resolution on this subject and I hope it will come up for discussion at an early date. In view of the remarks that have already been made on the subject, I do not want to say anything more except that there is considerable agitation throughout the Province on this matter. The salaries that are being paid to the teachers are no doubt very meagre and must be raised.

"Sir, I expected the popular Ministry to have made some provision for giving medical relief and for the intensification of the public health work in our Province. I do not want to quote any figures. As it is, the All-India figures show that in point of death-rate, we are the highest. Beginning with Canada at 10, we have got 22 in India. In infantile mortality again, Canada begins with 61 and we have got 161. In the average expectation of life, I wish that this ratio was true. But, I am sorry to say that our position is kept up only in the inverse ratio. Beginning with 51 in Canada, our average expectation of life is 27 years. Speaking about the Madras Province itself, these figures more or less apply. If there is any difference, it is only that the balance is tilted against us. Sir, in every international organization, India has been the subject of discussion with regard to public health. And yet, what provision has been made? The Hon. the Prime Minister has expressed a pious regret that he could not do more in view of the meagre finances. Well, Sir, it is time that we are fed on something more substantial than pious regrets and wishes of that kind.

"Sir, with regard to irrigation, provision has been made to a certain extent but it is not sufficient. Again, there is another aspect to this question. I thought my hon. friend, Mr. Narayana Menon would have raised his voice protesting against the treatment meted out to Kerala in this matter. Being a partyman, probably he did not."

SRI M. NARAYANA MENON:—"I raised my voice; I do not know whether the hon. member heard it."

MR. K. O. ANTHONI:—"It was not sufficiently loud; that is my feeling.. In working out irrigation schemes, Tamil Nad has had its turn; the Andhra Desa is having its turn now; what as about poor Kerala? I leave it there. Sir, the Hon. the Premier

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himself is going to move a resolution for the creation of linguistic provinces. We want linguistic provinces. But when you form these linguistic provinces, you should see that the different provinces so formed do not start with a handicap. A certain linguistic province has huge irrigational schemes; another has none. That is the position we should avoid. It is your duty to develop such schemes in the linguistic province where there are no schemes. That is the point that I want the Hon. Premier to take note of.

"Sir, another measure that I should have seen the Ministry give some special attention to is the provision of houses. I have spoken on the subject at length in connexion with my resolution and I am glad that the Ministry has accepted my resolution. Now, as the Hon. the Premier is more optimistic about things in general, I hope he will give early attention to the question of forming a committee and doing something in the way of providing houses and solving the acute shortage that is felt with regard to housing in this Province, especially in the urban and semi-urban areas. Well, Sir, the cry of the working class for housing accommodation is very insistent and personally I know that that is a problem which must be solved at a very early date. The middle classes are suffering very much for want of accommodation and I hope the Hon. the Premier will give his attention to this question. I appeal to the Hon. Premier—because the Hon. the Minister who accepted my resolution is not on the Treasury Bench now—to give his earnest consideration to this matter.

"Well, Sir, I do not want to speak anything much on the textile policy of the Government, but . . ."

5.15
p.m.

MR. PRESIDENT:—"No 'buts,' if you do not want to speak."

MR. K. O. ANTHONI:—"My hon. friend, Mr. Suryanarayana Rao, has expatiated on that. I have got another cutting which he forgot to mention. But, the one aspect of the problem which I would like to place before the Hon. Premier is this. The Hon. Premier and we seem to be going on parallel lines without any attempt to come and join together at some point or other—we never meet."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"It will derail the train if they meet."
(Laughter.)

MR. K. O. ANTHONI:—"Well, Sir, people say something—I do not know whether it is unparliamentary language; if it is so, I immediately withdraw it—they say that that some one has a kink in his brain. I am sure it is not I who have got it. Sir, we were given a note that on the background of the textile policy—I quite agree with a friend of mine who told me—that it is an insult to the intelligence of this Province. I quite agree with the point of view brought forward by my hon. friend Mr. Narayana Menon. There is a colossal waste of human material involved in this experiment. Can we afford to do that; are we going to do that in the future

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India? The question of human material is coming up for consideration; if not to-day, if not to-morrow, it is coming up very soon. It has already begun to make itself felt in the West and I am sure that our country is not going to take to this bullock-cart civilization. The Hon. the Premier said the other day that he was almost living in aeroplanes, flying off and on to Delhi and back. Well, Sir, where is the consistency in doing away with this industrial civilization, as my hon. friend, Mr. Daniel Thomas, defined it. I challenge the Ministry to manage one day's existence without having resources to some product or other which is the result of the industrial civilization. Mr. Khasa Subba Rao is reported to have said that while he was in jail, with very great difficulty, spinning all the 10 hours of the day with both hands, he was able to produce only four hanks. Well, Sir, for the information of the House, I may say something. It is not something which the Hon. Prime Minister does not know—the Hon. the Prime Minister has drawn some inspiration from my friend—Dr. P. J. Thomas, who was the Chairman of the Facts Finding Committee. The Hon. the Prime Minister is parading before us what is obtaining in the Punjab; that is only one side of the picture. I am now on this waste of human energy which is involved in this khadi production. A young boy—an adolescent of 18 years—can produce about 200 times the production of khadi by an expert hand-spinner and you have only to walk into a spinning mill to see that. So, in the whole scheme, there is a colossal waste of human energy. Now, the answer will be: The question is not one of conserving human energy, but it is with a view to providing the means of sustenance of our people in the villages who have no employment throughout the whole year that we are doing it. By all means do it, but not by carrying us into medievalism and into ante-diluvianism. Why not the Hon. the Premier launch upon schemes for further electrification projects and carry electricity into the villages? Why not the Hon. the Premier take a lesson from Japan and carry electricity into our far-off villages in order to start cottage industries with electric power? Well, Sir, I can go on in this strain, but I do not think I can make an impression on the Hon. the Premier, because he is determined to give effect to his policy. There is one extract which I have been asked by my hon. friend, Mr. Suryanarayana Rao, to place before you. It is dated February 25th, and comes from the Secretary of the Industries and Supply Department, New Delhi. It states that the Government of India had informed the Madras Government that, in view of the commitments involved, they could not see their way to cancelling the licences for spindles already issued to applicants. He thought that the first deliveries of textile machinery should arrive well before the end of this year. In fact, the Government of India were hoping that about 350,000 spindles would be delivered in India in 1947. The Hon. the Premier told us that the Government of India cannot force these spindles on us. This is the latest statement made by a representative of the Government of India and we had another statement made by the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the Minister for Industries and Supplies, dated February 8th. Sir, I shall not take any more of your time on this policy of the Government.

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"Now, Sir, I shall come to the producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies, which is one of the topical subjects of the day. I am myself a co-operator in a humble way. I am the President of a co-operative bank which operates in the Madras City as the financing bank and though I cannot claim that much of attachment to co-operation and that much of connexion with it as either the Hon. Minister for Law or my hon. friend Mr. Suryanarayana Rao can claim, yet, in a way, I am connected and am interested in co-operation and so I very much like to see the 'co-operative life' that the Hon. Premier has referred to in his budget speech, come into vogue. Sir, I have made enquiries about the working of this producer-cum-consumer movement and I am just passing on the information that I have got, to the Hon. the Premier for his consideration. It has been said that this form of society, which seeks to combine the interests of the producer and the consumer, will not really benefit the consumer. The reasons given, I shall categorically state. Of course, I do not want to take up your time any longer

MR. PRESIDENT:—"The hon. member need not trouble himself to give the views of others, but if he has got really any useful information in his possession, it will be welcome."

MR. K. O. ANTHONI:—"Here I have got some opinions of some persons who are connected with such institutions."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"I gather that the hon. member has not so much information to give, as the views of others. If he can give some facts and figures which will form the basis of discussion, it will be good, instead of voicing the views of others. If the hon. member understands me aright, it will be better he spares himself the trouble of voicing the views of others; but if he is expressing his own views which will be useful for the Ministry, he can do so."

MR. K. O. ANTHONI:—"These are facts and figures, Sir, gathered from people who have had experience of this producer-cum-consumer societies that I am placing before the House. It is said that this scheme will not benefit the consumer for the following reasons: Firstly, the procuring agent has to pay a commission; secondly, in milling paddy, only 69½ or 70 per cent resultant rice is expected and whatever surplus there may be goes to the miller and he gets also the bran; and thirdly, though it was expected that there would be sales tax only at one end, as a matter of practical experience, it is found that both the society and the retail dealer or the ration shop are being assessed with this sales tax. Therefore, Sir, there is a very reasonable fear in the minds of the people who are working these societies that it will not be possible to sell rice at a cheaper rate in these societies than it would be available by means of local procurement. Again, Sir, in regard to the staff that has been put to work these societies, the Inspectors of the Co-operative department are not men who are conversant with the varieties of paddy and other details connected with this matter. The Revenue department staff certainly know these things better. There is also the question of finding godowns to stock the supplies of paddy.

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"With regard to finance, Sir, it is stated that the Central banks are expected to finance these societies. What will happen if the Central bank refuses to finance these societies. I have been told—I do not know whether it is intended for the consumption of this House—that already in one district there is a tug-of-war going on between the president of the society and the president of the Central bank. Now, if the Central bank refuses to advance the necessary capital, what becomes of procurement? You may, of course, say that you will get advances from Scheduled banks, but are Scheduled banks going to give such societies the necessary capital without any security?

"Then again, another feature of this scheme which deserves consideration is that the village agent procures paddy for the requirement of the village. The co-operative society promises a bonus and so the producers would naturally like to sell their paddy to these societies. But, no clear line of demarcation seems to have been drawn between the scope of activities of the agents and of these societies. Sugar also is being distributed through these producer-cum-consumer societies. The result has been that in some urban areas sugar is distributed on population basis. Sugar goes into the villages and in urban and semi-urban areas where the number of coffee-drinking people is certainly larger than in other areas, the need for sugar is being keenly felt. Again Sir, there is one more aspect of this society which I would like to bring to the notice of the Hon. Premier. If these societies are found to be sound, economic and financial propositions, why should these be taken up and sponsored by Government as a kind of monopoly business? How long is this monopoly system going to last? What is going to happen to these societies after the controls are withdrawn? I would just postulate these questions in order that the Prime Minister may give his attention to them.

"Then with regard to the distribution of cloth on the 5 yards basis. I understand that a scheme has come into force from 1st January 1947. But in several districts and several villages, the ration cards have not yet been issued. That is also a matter for consideration.

"Before concluding, I would like to refer to the social unrest which exists at present. I am one of those who feel, Sir, that Government should set themselves up as model employers in this country. There is a good deal of social unrest. I referred to it in my remarks on the last budget also. But I am not one of those who think that a large part of the revenue of the Government should be spent on its staff. There are some hon. members who feel that we must go on spending all the money or at least the greater part of what we receive on the staff. I do not agree with that view. The primary object of the Government is to promote the well-being and happiness of the people at large. For doing that, a certain machinery is required and on that machinery only a certain proportion of the revenue should be spent but within that limit I would like to see that Government be a model employer, especially with regard to the lower-paid staff, the subordinate staff. I would like

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Government to give them a living wage, a family wage. A family wage has been described by famous Catholic sociologists as a wage which would suffice for the worker and his family to live in frugal comfort, provide for the education of his children and to put by something for the rainy day. Now let us make a heart-searching, a searching of our conscience and see whether we are paying to our humblest workers such a wage. It is in that light that I would like the Hon. Premier to examine this question. Another aspect of this question is that we seem to be going on multiplying the staff. I say the time is ripe for seeing whether every man employed by this Government is giving an honest day's work to the State or whether there is any waste of human material in this process of running the Government. I have been told that there is waste. Just an illustration of how Government are disposing of the human material at their disposal, I would cite the case of peons sleeping in the houses of officers. Why this waste of human material in the Government? Three or four peons are given for some officers. I would like Government to make a very close examination. Let the Hon. Minister for Revenue and others who formed the Cabinet Sub-Committee look into this."

THE HON. SRI K. R. KARANTH :—" We are looking into that."

MR. K. O. ANTHONI :—" I have spoken on other occasions about Cabinet Sub-Committees and I do not want to refer to that now but this is a matter that should engage the serious attention of the Government. You must employ the minimum staff that is required for carrying on the administration of the country efficiently and you must see that you set yourselves up as a model employer, especially in the case of the lower-paid workers. I am sorry to say that I have heard from several persons that a good deal of the trouble that has been going on with regard to the politics of our Province to-day, has arisen in connexion with new appointments that have been made by the Government. It is a very unseemly thing that we see. I would only appeal to the Hon. the Premier to see that as far as possible all these appointments are made by the Public Services Commission or some body whose motives could not be questioned. I thank you, Sir, for the consideration you have given me and I thank the Hon. Premier for the indulgence he has shown me."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Are there any other hon. members who wish to speak? "

There appeared to be no members who wanted to speak.

MR. PRESIDENT :—" The House now adjourns to meet again at 11 a.m. on Monday."

APPENDIX.

[Vide answer to starred question No. 83 asked by Sri R. Suryanarayana Rao at the meeting of Legislative Council held on the 8th March 1947, page 208 supra.]

Statement showing the details of the applicants for cement industry.

Serial number and name of firm or person.	Location proposed.	Capacity (in thousands) TONS.
1 Wholesale Co-operative Stores, Kurnool (Rao Bahadur Sri B. P. Sesha Reddi).	Kurnool district	150
2 Mr. A. K. Sharfudin, Mailamachandai, Trichinopoly	Salem	30
3 Manakampat Brothers, Limited, Parli, South Malabar	Olavakot	100
4 Mr. S. N. N. Sankaralinga Ayyar, Managing Director, Indo-Commercial Bank, Limited, P. B. 194, Madras.	South of Madras, Tinnevely and Ramnad districts.	250
5 Andhra Cement Company, Limited, Bezwada	North Vizagapatam district ..	90
Do.	Bezwada	150
6 The Rayalaseema Engineering Company, No. 8, Ammayappa Mudali Street, Royapetta, Madras.	Nandalur, Cuddapah district ..	35
7 Mr. S. Dogar Singh, Blue Mountain Estate, Kotagiri	1. Pidgwa	120 Jointly.
	2. Kurnool	
8 Mr. U. B. Somesh Rao, Radha Bank Buildings, Chalapuram, Malabar	Madukkarai	100
9 Mr. L. G. Balakrishnan, Green House, Tiruppur	Trichinopoly or Tinnevely district.	100
10 Devi Prasad, Khandelval Company, Limited, 269, Hornby Road, Fort Bombay.	Kurnool	.. *
11 South Madras Corporation, 2, Luz Church Road, Mylapore	Province of Madras	.. *
12 Industrial Development Syndicate, 84, Chavalvari Street, Vizagapatam	Vizagapatam	.. *

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13 Mr. J. L. P. Roche	Victoria, 'Sukhastan,' Tuticorin	Tinnevely or Ambasamudram ..	35
14 Mr. S. S. Natarajan,	South Car Street, Virudunagar	Thalayuth, Tinnevely district ..	100
15 Mr. Addepalli Satyanarayanamurthi,	Palakol, West Godavari	Kurnool	76
16 T. V. V. Dikshitulu and Nookala Venkataratnam,	Flour Mill Street, Gandhi-nagar, Bezwada.	Bezwada or at Kistna Canal ..	100
17 Mr. G. Ramaswami,	Managing Agent, Sri Ranga Vilas Ginning, Spinning and Weaving Mills, Coimbatore.	Tanjore or Coimbatore	90
18 Sri Guntur Narasimha Rao,	20-B, Govindappa Naick street, Madras	Yerranguntla	30
19 Mr. Narayana Rao Chaudari, P.B. 271,	Madras (Parvataveni Narayana Chowdari).	Charla, midway between Balar-shah and Rajahmundry.	..*
20 South Indian Industries,	20, Broadway, Madras	Two factories in Kurnool and Kistna districts.	..*
21 The Cuddapah Ceramics, Limited,	Cuddapah	Nandalur	60
22 The Hon'ble Mr. M. Ct. M. Chidambaram Chettiar,	Bedford House, Vepery, Madras.	Not given	Not given.
23 The Rajah of Venkatagiri, 'Palace,'	Venkatagiri town	Madras	30
24 Sri M. K. V. Reddi, Bar.-at-Law,	Andhra Insurance Buildings, Thambu Chetti street, Madras.	Kurnool	100
25 Sri K. Seshachar,	College House, 379, Esplanade, Madras	Any suitable place in Kurnool district.	Not given.

* Not furnished

வாய்மையே வெல்லும்
TRUTH ALONE TRIUMPHS



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